

# AMERICAN OPINION

*In this number  
we call to your especial attention*

## EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

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## AMERICAN OPINION

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June 6, 1960

Dear Reader:

We were climbing happily up a mountainside. Periodically the road divided. But no matter which fork we took, the road still kept winding upward, to ever more comfortable plateaus.

But finally at one fork — as we learned from repeated trials — both roads led down hill. Repeatedly we returned, baffled, to study the big sign in front of us. Arrows marked "Pursuit of Happiness" clearly pointed in both directions. We were given two choices, but *both* of them were wrong. Even the road to the right, as we now knew, twisted deceptively until it joined the road that had started to the left. And there was only a stagnant swamp at the end of the trail.

Frustrated, angry, almost in despair, we lunged against the sign itself. To our surprise, it turned out to be nothing but paper, which we broke through with ease. And lo and behold, there in front of us, purposely hidden by the big sign, lay our real road — with a higher tableland easily in sight.

The moral of this fable is very plain. Our collectivist enemies long ago found the Achilles heel in our body politic. It is the convention-primary system. This system was not planned by our forefathers, and is not controlled by the Constitution. Having been developed only by political custom, it is subject to ruthless manipulation by unscrupulous politicians. And the socialist-internationalist schemers do not care which candidate we elect so long as, through this hocus pocus, they can pick the nominees.

But there is nothing sacrosanct about this whole arrangement. Our salvation lies in ignoring their roadblock, crashing through it, and proceeding straight ahead. And so we issue this warning that we intend to take our own fate into our own hands once again, to the whole political brotherhood, of *both parties*:

"Nominate anybody you please. I'm voting for Goldwater."

Sincerely,

*Robert Welch*

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## IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

It is time once again for our theme song.

Occasionally one of our subscribers will complain that this magazine, while accurate, informative, and enlightening, is simply too discouraging to read. This, as we have pointed out before, is because we undertake to give our readers truth instead of comfort. To those who wish to close their eyes and minds to the horrible truth of what is happening in the world today, we suggest that they read only the funny papers. (We ourselves read them when we can, for a few minutes now and then of temporary respite.)

For there have been but few periods in all of our race's recorded history when man's inhumanity to man was so widespread and so cruel; when the whole sunlight of morality and decency and kindness, which pervades the great body of mankind, was so completely shut off from view by the dark clouds of hypocrisy enveloping its leaders; or when such ineffable scoundrels so almost universally filled the seats of the mighty. And the grim but honest outlook is that the picture will become much worse before the dark clouds pass over (as they always have before), and the beneficent light of faith, hope, and charity begins to flood the earth's surface once again (as we are sure it will).

So if you really want it straight, the diet we must give you most of the time is likely — through no fault of ours — to be monotonously dismal in flavor. And for that reason we are all the more delighted when we can put before you a more promising page of news or opinion. The slowly rising but tremendously potent groundswell of support for Barry Goldwater is certainly one such item of strong encouragement in a scene largely full of foreboding stupidities, treason, and venality. We shall probably deal with it at more length in a later issue. There are other glints of light here and there, including the possibility that the Kremlin's control over its enslaved millions, even in

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Russia, is perhaps as shaky today as at any time during the past forty years. And we take especial pleasure in leading off this feature this month with the record of a decided victory won by the Americanists against the Communists, no matter how cleverly the Communists have tried to disguise and sugarcoat their defeat.

### The Summit — Of Pretenses

It is already May 20. By the time this magazine is in print and distributed, the summit conference will have receded behind new hills of Communist exhibitionism that are being constantly raised. And this "Summit" proved to be a pretty small volcano anyway, not to be judged — as to either size or importance — by all of the smoke and fire that erupted from it. So we shall give the poor thing short shrift. But we cannot simply ignore it, for three reasons.

First, our customers will definitely feel that their subscription contract with us calls for some comments on the subject. Second, for the consideration given above; that what really happened, despite the cleverly manufactured appearances to the contrary, was a significant victory of the anti-Communist grass-roots forces, largely of America, accomplished right over the heads and over the opposition of their formal leaders. And third, because any show so meticulously produced and stage-managed, with such excellent casting, deserves the reviewer's recognition of those virtues, even though the farce was a complete flop due to the poor quality of the libretto.

Of course the acting was incredibly "corny." Not since a play put on by the Sunday School students of a small country church in North Carolina more than fifty years ago has this reviewer seen its equal in that respect. But there was a huge difference. The "Oh Bah-sil, Oh Bah-sil," gushed by the heroine, in the play of my childhood days, was so corny because the poor girl couldn't help it. The histrionics of Khrushchev — and of some of the other actors—achieved the same degree of "hamminess" by calculated design. Here was an actor of superb talent



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deliberately acting, and very skillfully acting, the role of a corny actor. For he and the other stars were well aware that "corn" is the most convincing form of showmanship to the vast majority of their respective peoples. And the reason almost nobody believed even Khrushchev — or the others — was not the fault of his acting, but was due entirely to the fact that the plot supplied him was too thin and ludicrous to be saved by even his genius at pretenses.

Even if the U-2 plane had not been deliberately flown into Russian territory at this particular time, and brought down there, as part of the act (which seems almost certain), few things could be basically more absurd — and laughable — than Khrushchev's swelling his veins in anger and going through his bombastic gestures over so trivial an incident. And all that actually kept the whole world from laughing uproariously at so ridiculous a pose was the Communist influence over a major part of the press and other mass media of communication even on this side of the Iron Curtain. Khrushchev could count in advance, for instance, on a vast majority of the American newspapers to react solemnly to his pretenses. Whether the reaction was one of ostensible anger against the Soviets, or of attempted "understanding," or of solicitousness over the "unfortunate" results of our "blunder," hardly mattered at all to Khrushchev and his fellow Communists in Moscow, Paris, and Washington — so long as most of the reactions took *seriously* his exaggerated nonsense.

The most intelligent commentary we have seen or heard anywhere was in a broadcast from PUEBLO, in Madrid, on May 12, directed in Spanish to the Americans. Translated, two paragraphs of that broadcast went as follows:

"There is something artificial in the reaction to Khrushchev's sensational report to the Supreme Soviet in Moscow. In other circumstances the [U-2] incident would probably have passed unnoticed, and the Russians themselves, although they would have used it for propaganda purposes, would not have made accusations to the point of almost returning to the worst

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terms of the days of the cold war. This time the plane incident served Soviet purposes.

"Faced with a possible total failure of the summit conference, which would damage the personal policy of Khrushchev more than is apparent, it was convenient for him to be able to accuse the West of duplicity, blaming them for the failure of coexistence. In reality, there is no reason for so much surprise. It is rather foolish for these high circles to be shocked at the fact that the big powers have intelligence services in operation. The United States has one and naturally Russia does too."

This, in our opinion, is getting fairly close to at least some of the truth. But we think the real reasons for the "artificial" display of indignation are almost as plain as its "artificiality." The Communist influences in this country, which had planned the "Summit" in the first place, had carefully arranged to have many "feelers" leaked out and "trial balloons" surreptitiously let loose, as to what they expected to accomplish there. This included such brazen steps of American surrender as the sellout of Berlin, the betrayal of West Germany into some kind of forced confederation with East Germany as a parallel "sovereign power," and negotiated arrangements for disarmament leading to the presence of at least token Russian armed forces — or "United Nations" armed forces — on American soil. And not only did the nationwide protest against these proposed "steps towards peace" become too vigorous and too visible for carrying them out to be strategically wise, but there was an uprising of mammoth proportions against the very idea of our participation in any summit conference at all.

The Communists decided, obviously, that under the circumstances it would be better for them to "postpone" the summit conference altogether. That they would then find some way to seize the initiative, twist appearances, save face, and make it seem that the conference had been "postponed" *for their reasons*, was to be expected. That in doing so they would use the occasion to salvage whatever gain they could out of the situation was inevitable. And that our government could be

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jockeyed and maneuvered, by the Communist influences which now control it, into going through every necessary motion of designed "blunders" and self-abasement, to help the Soviets put over their play, was as certain as that Washington will keep on subsidizing Castro. But the price was still a comparatively small one for us to pay, to avoid the disaster that the Communists had worked out for us.

So the "Summit" has now been postponed three times; from last July to November; from November to May; and from May until "six or eight months later." This last postponement was effected through a terrific hullabaloo by Khrushchev over *our* wickedness which, fortunately, almost nobody believes. (In fact, Khrushchev himself all but gave the game away in his report to his "friends" in East Berlin. There he carefully explained that he had merely been "leading from strength" — by which he meant, of course, the *appearance* of strength — and made clear that there would be no separate treaty with East Germany now despite his blustering to that effect in Paris.) And if enough patriotic Americans retain their vigor, courage, and common sense, the second "Summit" never will come off. But we ask our readers please not to let this spotlighted failure of the Communists at one point blind them to how rapidly, boldly, and extensively the Communists are moving ahead on other fronts.

For probably the most important news to Americans over the past few weeks has not been what was happening in Paris at all, but what was happening in San Francisco. The Communist-inspired student riots there, against the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, not only bear a marked resemblance to those that began the purposeful lawlessness and pressures that overthrew Syngman Rhee, and to the similar student riots that began the trouble in Turkey, and not only were they all unquestionably a part of the same basic planning by some nerve center of the conspiracy; but those in San Francisco were the first riots of this kind on American soil. For the first time the Communists have felt strong enough, and

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far enough advanced in their preparation and in their secret control of the reins of power in this country, to let it become visible that "what can't happen here" is *already* beginning to happen here—on a small scale as yet, and with deceptive periods of quiescent retreat to follow, but with unmistakable certainty and purpose nevertheless. And these comments bring us logically to the discussion of another event of recent history, also far more important than the childish pyrotechnics in Paris.

\* \* \*

### Black Is White

For during the past fifteen years our government has played a leading part in all the deceptive procedures for handing over one nation after another to the Communist tyranny. But never, even in the worst days of Dean Acheson and his good friend, Alger Hiss, has it done anything to equal in nefariousness the deliberate betrayal of Syngman Rhee and his South Koreans. Imposing on South Korea, by force and by the pressures of our government, of the rule of a small, noisy, dirty, and vicious Communist-led minority, is the all-time low in *rottenness* for the Eisenhower administration, and for our whole government during the past twenty-eight years of callous and conscienceless amorality.

To anybody who would take the trouble to go behind the idiotic and sometimes apparently calculated distortions of the *New York Times*, *Boston Herald-Traveler*, *Washington Post*, and other disgraceful examples of our prostituted press, there has been no difficulty in discovering what was happening in Korea. Just one year ago we wrote, and published in the May, 1959 issue of this magazine, the following short article. It was picked up and carried by the Korean English-speaking press as being a completely accurate presentation of developments in that unhappy country — which it was. We reprint it here because we do not know of any better or more concise way in which to inform — or remind — our readers of the background of recent events in the "Land Of Morning Calm."

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### *No Truce In Korea—Published In May, 1959*

That the Communists have continued to build up their military strength in North Korea, in complete violation of the truce terms to which they agreed, is no surprise to anybody familiar with Communists. That they have done so without the slightest objection by our government, and apparently with its blessing, is no surprise to anybody familiar with our government. And the current Communist activities *inside* South Korea, which are so exactly in line with usual Communist procedures everywhere, would not surprise anybody but for one reason: We have all been looking at Beirut or Havana or Berlin or somewhere else, while the Communists made hay in Seoul and Pusan.

For decades the Soviet military, economic, and diplomatic threats hanging over Finland, always being used to support the Soviet's agents and sympathizers within Finland, wore down the original firm and courageous Finnish opposition. Until today Finland is almost a Soviet satellite, and the government of Finland practically takes its orders from the Kremlin. It can be said truthfully that Finland was conquered by attrition. And exactly the same process is now at work in, and on, South Korea. But there are two differences. South Korea had never been allowed to become firmly established as a nation before the Communist pressures began. And the tempo of Communist advance has now become so much more rapid, through both momentum and experience, that processes of betrayal which once took ten years can now be accomplished in two or three.

The pressures on South Korea begin with the constant threat by the Communists, now so heavily armed and equipped, simply to sweep down across the 38th Parallel again and overrun the South at any time. Seoul itself is only seven minutes away, for jet bombers from the newest Communist airfields. All of South Korea lives and exists under the dark shadow of murderous invasion by Communist hordes. This threat is a powerful factor in enabling Communist agents and sympathizers within South Korea to take a more brazen course, and to intimidate their opposition. Not only do infiltrators from the North make all of the trouble they can, and not only do their allies and agents carry that trouble right into the high levels of the South Korean government, but what is even worse, the Communists are visibly gaining support from some of the more opportunistic South Koreans, whose patriotic courage is gradually failing them under all of the pressures for the present and dangers for the future.

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Because of the greatly stepped-up campaign of infiltration and subversion which the Communists have been carrying on for the past several months, a much needed National Security Law was brought forward in the Korean Assembly. Whereupon the so-called Democratic Party of Korea embarked on a program of obstructionism and villification which for a while bogged down all normal and necessary government procedures. If the left-wingers in our own country, who are now promoting the Communist "Operation Abolition" to get rid of the FBI and our internal-security committees, should stage a week's sit-down strike on our Senate floor, the situation would be comparable to what Syngman Rhee has had to face in Seoul.

Although every election held in the Republic of Korea in the eleven years of its existence has been under United Nations observation, and the essential honesty and impartiality of these elections have been certified to the United Nations by its own committees or commissions (which were certainly hostile to Syngman Rhee), the Korean Democratic Party has been casting slurs on the elections — and going much further. On February 4 of this year a leading member of the Korean Democratic Party wrote, in an editorial in his "opposition" newspaper:

"A true majority is not, of course, expressed solely by elections. If elections are not capable of determining a true majority, there may be another way of doing it. This way is that in which a true majority is decided by force, and that is what we call a revolution . . . The general understanding of the political crisis that Korea faces today may have to start from this point."

This, as the Korean Foreign Policy Association has stated, comes very close to open advocacy of revolution. It is clearly the purpose of leading elements within the Korean Democratic Party to supplant the truly republican government of Syngman Rhee, and his approximately two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, with a pro-Communist clique. This would, of course, be only a forerunner to the eventual "unification" of North Korea and South Korea under a Communist dictatorship, with the full terror of Communist vengeance and suppression let loose on millions of South Koreans — after the unsurpassable bravery and suffering which they have gone through over the past decade to save their country.

To bring about this increasing Communist influence within South Korea, and ultimate absorption of South Korea by the total Communist tyranny, the Korean Democratic Party has and uses

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many tricks, many methods, and many pressures. The threat of civil war and its resulting chaos and misery is a powerful lever. It is made more powerful by the certainty that Communist troops and tanks and planes would pour across the border to take part in that civil war.

These threats, however, are kept in the psychological background, always understood but seldom stated. While in the foreground of the Korean Democratic Party's effort to persuade, frighten, and coerce more and more of the South Koreans into a resigned acceptance of its program, is a trump card which the Party leadership keeps sticking just slightly out of its sleeve for everybody to catch a glimpse of, and keep in mind. This trump card is *American support*. For the Korean Democratic Party, in its efforts to overthrow that determined anti-Communist and our great friend and ally, Syngman Rhee, is convincing more and more of the people of South Korea that it has the backing of the United States Government. And, on this score, the Party does not have to convince us. We would find any other course, on the part of Moscow's agent along the Potomac, to be utterly incredible in the light of what they are doing everywhere else in the world.

As the revolutionary pronouncement of February 4, 1959, quoted above, frankly confessed, the Communists knew they had no chance of taking over Korea by free and honest elections within the foreseeable future, or as long as Syngman Rhee lived and was able to serve as President. In every election since the Republic was founded, including the most recent one of only a couple of months ago (and despite the fact that these elections had all been supervised by agencies of the United Nations, bitterly hostile to Rhee), a preponderant majority of South Koreans had shown that they were completely loyal to Syngman Rhee and determinedly anti-Communist. The only possible chance the Communists and their dupes and allies had for taking over the Republic of Korea was through some typically Communist combination of pressure and terror for by-passing those very "democratic processes" to which they give such monotonous lip service.

Under these circumstances, with Syngman Rhee already eighty-five years old, it is entirely possible that the Communists,



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while continuing their infiltration and trouble-making in the meantime, would have waited until Rhee was no longer present to oppose them, but for two reasons. The first was their fear, apparently, that in Lee Ki-poong, elected as Vice-President in March, Rhee had at last found and started training a worthy and younger anti-Communist leader to succeed him. For the first time the Communists saw fading away their longstanding expectation of the whole South Korean government falling apart under their pressures, ready for them to pick up the pieces, whenever Rhee died or had to give up the struggle. And a second reason may well have been the desire of Khrushchev, and of his agents in Washington, to have a whole series of anti-Communist governments toppling over, or facing serious troubles, just before the Summit Conference began and as a psychological build-up for the American surrender to be subtly initiated there. (As he had hoped.) This kind of precise timing is one of the most professionally operated and effective techniques of the Communist advance.

At any rate, and for whatever reason, the time seemed ripe. And the Communist-dominated students and trouble-makers, with the so-called Korean Democratic Party in the forefront, went to work on their final putsch. Their attempt to make political capital out of the fact that Syngman Rhee's opponent for the presidency had died before the election gradually evaporated when it became widely known that this opponent had died in a hospital in Washington, D. C., for causes and under circumstances for which Rhee could not possibly have had any responsibility. So the Communists and their dupes and allies then, after themselves making all of the trouble in connection with the election that they could, fell back on claims of widespread corruption and ballot-stuffing. It is almost certain that, except for the dishonest acts of the Communists themselves, there was less corruption and "irregularity" in the Korean elections of this March than in any American presidential election held since 1936. The vicious Communists claims of corruption consisted almost entirely of noise without evidence, in typical



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Communist fashion. But none of this mattered. What really counted was that Christian A. Herter and his State Department were all set and primed to come to their aid with the whole prestige and power of the United States Government.

If there is any one thing absolutely necessary for any government, when beset by a Communist-inspired uprising, it is for that government to show firmness in dealing with such terrorist rioting. And this is the one thing, above all others, that Rhee was not allowed to do. When he finally made a serious attempt to suppress the lawless actions of a small but vicious minority, bring to book the murderers and destroyers, and restore order, he was met with a sanctimonious rebuke from Christian A. Herter that the South Korean Government was adopting "repressive measures unsuited to a free democracy." And the Secretary of State of the United States was not just throwing at Rhee words which could not hurt him. The Secretary had within his reach sticks and stones to break the bones of Rhee's government, as Rhee was well aware.

So, from then on, practically anything went for the Communist gorillas and their misled dupes. Their mayhem on persons and demolition of property became merely evidence of the "grievances" of the Koreans which Syngman Rhee ought to redress. And the grand old fighter, hemmed in on every side by malicious forces utterly beyond his power to control or subdue, gave ground and made the concessions they *seemed to want* until finally, with all power to fight back insidiously embezzled from him, he gave up the one thing they *really* wanted, which was himself.

That "front man for traitors," General George Catlett Marshall, once boasted, correctly, that he had disarmed thirty-nine of Chiang Kai-shek's divisions with a stroke of his pen. And the embargo put into effect, by that stroke of Marshall's pen, which prevented Chiang from getting even ammunition for his troops, coupled with the appeasement-truces with Mao Tse-tung's Communists which Marshall used all the power of the United States Government to force on Chiang (to give

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Mao's hordes the time to recuperate and arm), was probably the decisive factor in eventually turning all of the mainland of China over to the Communists. (As this writer, at least, has always believed Marshall fully intended.) In the future, we feel sure, Mr. Christian A. Herter will be able to boast that with just one sentence of criticism of Syngman Rhee he broke the back of Syngman Rhee's government. And we further believe that, again, this one statement will be considered by honest historians of the future as having been the decisive factor in eventually making of South Korea another province of the Kremlin. (As this writer, at least, believes that Herter fully intended.)

There was one sad difference, however, in the result of the two betrayals. The takeover of the mainland of China was of tremendous importance to the Kremlin, in the strategy for conquest of the world that Communists have carefully followed since the days of Lenin. And it was a tragedy of immeasurable import to the half a billion human beings who were thus brought under the most cruel despotism in the history of the human race. Chiang, however, was able not only to survive, but to keep on fighting. And he may still live to see the day when he can turn the tables on the hideous monsters who now rule his country and mass-murder his countrymen.

But for Syngman Rhee it is almost inconceivable that there will be any comeback. For him this is the end. And it is worth while to pause for a paragraph, in considering the Communist malice as it affects nations and millions, to think about just one man who was so tragically overwhelmed by their lies and ruthlessness. It is doubtful if there has ever been a human being, of such transcendent greatness, for whom a deep and sincere humility was more completely the very core of his character. And it is certain that, except for Chiang Kai-shek, no other Asiatic has ever been as dedicated to the truly republican form of government, or has given so much of himself (while working under the very handicaps imposed by his ideal) to try to establish such a government for his countrymen. A direct descendant

of the earlier kings of Korea, Syngman Rhee endured one year of torture and then spent more than half a century of unceasing work and struggle studded with cruel disappointments, to try to make of Korea the kind of republic which the United States had been in its better days.

Yet the Communist reversal of *all* truth is now so great, and the propagation of Communist lies by the American press so extensive and unwitting or unashamed, that a long editorial in the *Boston Traveler* began with such paragraphs as these:

"No one has ever accused South Korea's President Syngman Rhee of being a humble or a modest man.

"But even long-term critics of his arrogance and high-handed leadership got a shock from his reaction to the popular revolt that challenged his government this week . . . . .

"Seldom has a national leader—however vain—displayed an attitude of such personal pique in the face of public repudiation . . . . .

"But those among South Korea's twenty-three million citizens who believe in free government and honest elections don't intend to be overlooked."

Of course nobody, at least in the memory of this writer, has ever accused the editorials in the *Boston Traveler* of making sense. But almost every line and word in the above, and in the whole editorial that followed, was either the exact opposite of the truth, was badly distorted, or showed a complete misunderstanding of the forces at work in Korea. (As complete a misunderstanding as shown by the same paper when the Communist Mao Tse-tung was taking over China, when Communist Achmed Sukarno was taking over Indonesia, and when the Communist Fidel Castro was taking over Cuba.) But this kind of idiotic nonsense was typical of what was being fed its readers by ninety percent of the whole American press. And back in Kyung Mu Dai, the Korean "White House" on a hillside in Seoul, an old man with a broken heart was coming to the end of his resistance against the lies and pressures and attacks of his enemies—and the betrayals of his "friends."

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Syngman Rhee has seen the truth he has always spoken now "twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools," and the things he gave his life to now broken beyond repair by jackals seeking scraps of favor from the Kremlin. But the foremost waves of civilization still move inexorably westward. And humanity, for all its passing phases of folly and of crime, still climbs gropingly upward, especially in the lands irrigated by those waves, towards its age-old goal of a truly humane existence. Out of the graveyard of all decency and hope which the Communists are now making of all Korea, in a few decades—or a few centuries—there will arise a new Korea, as bright and glorious as that happy republic of which Syngman Rhee dreamed so long. And in that reborn nation its spiritual founder, Syngman Rhee, will finally receive the honor he deserves, as one of the very greatest men—in every worthwhile sense—that our whole race has yet produced.

\* \* \*

### And How Christian Is Herter?

The catastrophe in Korea, however, had one incidental result of considerable importance. This was the forcing on informed American patriots of the reluctant conviction that they had better stop taking for granted the widely advertised stupidity of Christian Herter. It finally became necessary to start seeking a more plausible explanation for his incredible string of successful failures. For in the first place, to paraphrase James Forrestal once more, the law of probability with regard to the toss of a coin simply will not stretch far enough to make the results of stupidity point so invariably in the same direction. And in the second place, nobody going through even the motions of international diplomacy, at so high a level, could possibly be as stupid as Herter's friends and supporters insistently proclaim to be, in a visible effort to fend off more sinister accusations.

We discussed Mr. Herter at some length in the June, 1959 issue of this magazine. But that was a year ago. And during

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those twelve months the anti-Communist team, with our State Department so largely calling the signals, has not only lost a lot of ground, and suffered a terrific demoralization of many of its members, but has caused the betting odds against our side to reach an all-time high. So it seems to be in order to take another and longer look at our Secretary of State.

Of course we do not have room for any comprehensive or well-balanced biography of Mr. Herter. But, at the expense of repeating some of the exhibits from our parade of a year ago, we can assemble and string together for you, right out of the public press, a series of well-known incidents in his public career which become most revealing when laid end to end. As to what they reveal, that depends quite a bit on the eye of the beholder—and on how objectively the beholder can look at the whole nightmarish scene in which we find ourselves today.

The first entries in this selective record must begin with foreign aid. Next to Earl Browder, probably no other American has supported our foreign-aid program earlier, more enthusiastically, or with more extravagant and ambitious proposals. As *Coronet Magazine* reported in August, 1957 (on the same page where it praised Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., so effusively for representing the United States so well at the Bandung Conference), "nothing, perhaps, helped as much to put across the Marshall Plan after World War II as the junket of a House Committee headed by studious Representative (now Under Secretary of State) Christian Herter of Massachusetts."

The truth about the Marshall Plan is not yet popular even with many good Americanists, who still are not willing to admit that—despite whatever comparatively small amount of good it may have accomplished—it was basically a brilliant scheme of the Communists to get the United States to do exactly what the Communists wanted us to do, but to do it under the guise of fighting Communism. Even in the very earliest days of "foreign aid," UNRRA money was used primarily to enable Madame Sun Yat-sen in China, Menshikov in Poland, Tito in

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Yugoslavia, and other Kremlin agents elsewhere, to herd the Communist sheep into corrals supplied with food, and to starve the anti-Communist goats, in their respective countries. Since then, among the half dozen major advantages accruing to the Communists from the American foreign-aid program, perhaps the most important has been the use of government billions to keep socialist governments in power and to enable them to become more socialistic. Actually, it was the most effective force in bringing about that continued and steady advance towards socialism, in most countries on this side of the Iron Curtain, instead of a reversion to the "normalcy" of conservatism which is to be expected after the turmoil of any great war.

The Communists are now fully two-thirds of the way on their long road to total conquest of the whole world. During most of their progress so far they have had nothing to work with but cunning and terror, and the cunning always had to be successful to some extent before the terror could even be utilized. So the cunning had to be brilliant, professional, and painstakingly developed at every turn. But when the Communists asked themselves how on earth the American people could be beguiled into allowing billions on billions of American taxpayers' money, in the postwar decades, to do exactly those things which the Communists wanted to have done, the answer was comparatively easy, and strictly logical from their point of view. For it involved that exact and complete reversal of the truth which is the key to Communist planning. All that was required was to present and "sell" the whole program to the American people *as a means of fighting Communism*. The American taxpayer would be willing to make more sacrifices, and to accept more profligacy on the part of his government, for that purpose than any other. Such a program once firmly established in the American mind as being for that purpose would become more sacrosanct, and more invulnerable to criticism or impervious to truth, than anything else that could be offered the electorate.

So American foreign aid was inaugurated during the Tru-

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man administration; largely by soft-on-Communism Democrats led by Dean Acheson, with the able assistance of Christian A. Herter. For propaganda reasons they affixed to it the name of that idol of the Left, George Catlett Marshall—who had nothing to do with the whole scheme except for being assigned the job of delivering one speech about it at Harvard. And a case history of what the Marshall Plan did to the economics and the political developments in, for instance, Belgium or England, will clearly demonstrate that the Communists accomplished, with regard to promoting socialism, exactly what they had planned with this colossal deception in the first place.

None of these facts or developments bothered Christian Herter. Instead, they helped his career. For even in those days when Earl Browder, Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and their closest collaborators and worst dupes, were sowing the seeds of American foreign aid and nourishing the earliest plants, Herter well knew the side of the fence on which it was most promising to graze. He was the most "modern" of "modern Republicans" before the term had even been invented, and long before the Left was in as complete control of our government as it is today. And by helping mightily to push the Marshall Plan through the House of Representatives, of which he was then a member, he established himself as a lasting favorite of the superliberals.

Then the Marshall Plan, which had been presented to the American people by Acheson, Herter and Company as a strictly *temporary* measure, was metamorphosed into the permanent and more ambitious program that is now called Mutual Security (unless they change the label again before we can get into print). And this metamorphosis had the full blessing of Mr. Herter. In fact, on March 15, 1956, while he was still Governor of Massachusetts but visibly looking ahead to acting on a larger stage, he made a most revealing speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. He not only insisted that all of our foreign-aid billions should be handed out without any strings attached whatsoever, and that "we should not demand



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any *quid pro quo* for our assistance." But he then went on to propose that we should team up with the Soviet Union in helping the underdeveloped countries; that "we should offer to coordinate our aid with whatever assistance the Soviet Union is able to provide . . . We should . . . be willing to work out both with the Soviet and with the recipient country a program to which both the Soviet and ourselves can each contribute."

On Page 55 of Earl Browder's *Teheran*, in the midst of a long discussion setting forth the glories of American foreign aid, Mr. Browder had written: "Here also a broad regional program of economic development is called for, capable of reconciling national rivalries through international collaboration. Here, further, there is raised the whole question of the possibility of economic participation by the Soviet Union in such a program together with the capitalist lands."

On April 1, 1957, in a guest article written for the super-liberal columnist, Thomas L. Stokes, Mr. Herter defended our foreign aid program—past, present, and future—with all of the usual sophistries. Typical of his approach was the statement: "About twenty billion dollars of this has been in the form of loans. We have every reason to believe this twenty billion dollars will be repaid." If Mr. Herter could have believed that idiocy, then the claims of apologists as to his stupidity would be justified. But we wonder how much money Mr. Herter personally would have been willing to lend these same debtors, out of his own pocket instead of his country's pocket, on the strength of that expectation.

We'll not take the time or space for as full a review of Mr. Herter's manifestations of "liberalism" in fields other than foreign aid. We shall try to hit a larger number of high spots instead. And simply to plunge ahead, let's note that he was one of the founders, in 1950, of "Republican Advance." This outfit, which later was more or less swallowed up in the "Citizens For Eisenhower," you may remember, was intended to be, not an opposing force to, but a teammate of, Americans For Demo-



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cratic Action—pulling both parties down exactly the same path, and with certain interlocking superliberals serving on both. On December 11, 1956, Mr. Herter was publicly praised by the Americans For Democratic Action, as we are sure he should have been. For the sad truth is that, ideologically, Christian Herter belongs in the same group with, or slightly left of, Hubert Humphrey, John Kennedy, Estes Kefauver, and Eleanor Roosevelt. The sadder truth is that, otherwise, he could not possibly have been appointed to his present job by the forces which now control the Eisenhower administration. And saddest truth of all is that his unanimous confirmation, by the Senators present and voting, showed how far all opposition to the smooth-running superliberal juggernaut had already been brow-beaten into a resigned acquiescence.

As the new Secretary of State, Christian Herter could hardly get to Washington fast enough to give a luncheon for that Communist archenemy of the United States, Fidel Castro. As *National Review* pointed out, he then “opened his secretaryship with a miserable and dangerous capitulation,” in agreeing to the Soviet demand that the United States would not fly planes at an altitude of more than ten thousand feet over the corridor to Berlin. And in the early foothills of the “summit conference”—a year ago, when that conference was first tentatively scheduled for July, 1959—it was Herter who refused to support the firmly anti-Communist stand of Adenauer and de Gaulle, and who used the weight of the United States as an “intermediary” on behalf of the “flexible” views of Macmillan.

A photograph of Christian Herter practically straining a gut in his exuberant haste to shake hands with Gromyko was one of the first useful pieces of Soviet propaganda to come out of the Foreign Ministers’ show in Geneva last spring. That meeting had hardly got under way before the United Press announced that “Secretary of State Christian Herter will hold a man-to-man session tomorrow with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Herter will be Gromyko’s guest at luncheon in the Soviet headquarters on the Rue de la Paix.” When Herter

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became a party to the arrangement whereby the East German delegates as well as the West German delegates were allowed to sit as "advisers," at small tables adjoining the main table of the Foreign Ministers, he had already given the East German puppet regime the *de facto* recognition which was all the Soviets wanted to accomplish at the conference. And when he made clear that we should deal with the Soviets in this whole circus by "offering concession for concession," he was talking exactly the line which the Kremlin had written for the occasion. Out of an almost infinite number of such tiny straws of "appeasement" have been built all the bricks of Soviet prestige, in that parapet of pretended might from which the Soviets have enslaved a billion people.

It has frequently been remarked that there was only one real difference between the administrations of Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower. This was that they got steadily worse. Something not as generally noted is that there has been absolutely no change in the fundamentals of our so-called "foreign policy" since Dean Acheson established its course immediately following World War II. For all practical purposes Acheson could have stayed right on as Secretary of State throughout all of the years since he left the office. His protégé and former assistant, John Foster Dulles, frequently talked a good brand of anti-Communism, because that obviously fitted the role assigned to him. But under his Secretaryship the Communists went right on winning the world, always with the help of the U. S. Department of State, just the same as before. With Christian Herter in the Secretary's chair, the old Acheson line has merely become more visible again—and considerably more brazen, because of the increased Communist power and influence.

In September, 1958, for instance, at a speech in Atlantic City, Mr. Herter as Under Secretary of State advocated abandonment of the Chinese offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu as "not strategically defensible." His opposition to the anti-Communist government of Chiang Kai-shek (as well as to the

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government of Syngman Rhee) has remained as clear as was that of Dean Acheson—or of Owen Lattimore. And as a part of that opposition he has succeeded in completely ousting Walter S. Robertson, the one man of high rank within the State Department who always fought for support of the Nationalist Chinese Government. And of course he has insisted on bringing back to active duty, in a top policy-making position as the Secretary's own adviser, the notorious Charles Bohlen—the "expert" who had advised Roosevelt on Eastern European questions at both Teheran and Yalta. Senators Bridges and Dirksen, who had publicly opposed this appointment and thought they had it stopped, reminded Mr. Herter, when they found him going through with the appointment anyway, that his stubbornness on this issue was not going to be liked by many Senators. Mr. Herter reminded Messrs. Bridges and Dirksen in turn that this particular appointment did not require Senate confirmation; metaphorically but quite pointedly thumbed his nose at the two Senators *and* the Senate; and brought Mr. Bohlen right into the inner circle of the State Department.

It is in his disingenuous spouting of the then current Communist line on any and all practicable occasions, however, perhaps more than in any other activity, that Christian Herter reveals the real nature of his purpose—and, by the subtlety with which that purpose is advanced, makes the charitable assertions concerning his stupidity seem grossly exaggerated. Of course he goes through all of the proper motions, at the proper times, of expressing doubt as to the intentions of the Soviets or as to the dependability of their agreements. Which doesn't bother the Kremlin butchers in the slightest degree. They themselves tell us, and the rest of the world, over and over, that any agreements into which they enter are made by them only to be broken when it suits their convenience. And they don't care how much Mr. Herter gravely wrinkles his brow in public over his worries that the Soviets will not negotiate in good faith, so long as he still rushes pell mell to negotiate with them every time they blow

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the whistle for him to come a-running.

But in between, and frequently as background preparation for these interminable "tension-relaxing flops," Mr. Herter uses the full prestige of his great office to spread the clever refrains of Communist propaganda. At the official meeting of the Organization of American States in Santiago, Chile, last year for instance, Mr. Herter went far out of his way to express the dislike of our government for dictators. The occasion and the context made it entirely clear, as Mr. Herter visibly intended, that he was referring to such "dictators" as Stroessner of Paraguay, Luis Somoza of Nicaragua, and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. The increasingly feverish and vicious effort of the Soviets, and of their stooges like Romulo Betancourt and Fidel Castro, to overthrow these only three remaining firmly anti-Communist governments in all Latin America, is built around this phoney psychological attack on dictatorships, and around movements in behalf of "freedom and democracy." Mr. Herter was actually telling all of the Communist agitators in Latin America that their efforts to undermine our best real friends in the whole hemisphere, and to "liberate" their peoples into the hands of Communist dictators instead, would have the full blessing and encouragement of the U. S. State Department. And how little he and his fellow agitators are really disturbed by dictators—if only they are Communist instead of anti-Communist dictators—was shown by the fact that Nikita Khrushchev was practically on his way at that very time to visit America as an honored guest, on an invitation to which Mr. Herter had given his most enthusiastic approval.

Or note the Secretary's speech before the National Foreign Trade Council, this past November. He announced that a "common language" was beginning to emerge, in which the leaders of "East and West" could profitably exchange ideas. (Not the free world and the slave world, please remark, nor even the Soviets and the United States, but "East and West"; the latter being a euphemism now vigorously promoted by Soviet propaganda, helped along of course by Mr. Herter.) He

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then proceeded to explain: "We can find a common language because we have a common interest. That interest lies simply in the basic will to survive, shared by free men and communists alike. I think (continued Mr. Herter) the Soviet leadership is reaching a conclusion similar to our own—that unless the course of events is changed and changed soon, both sides face unacceptable risks of general nuclear war, which would approximate mutual suicide."

No, gentle reader, the above statement was not written by Cyrus Eaton, nor by Bertrand Russell, nor—as far as we know—by any ghost writer in the Kremlin. It was written by—or for—the American Secretary of State. It is, as you will have recognized, the exact propaganda line of the Committee For A Sane Nuclear Policy and for other clans of the "let's surrender" tribe. The game is basically very simple. The Soviets unceasingly make ever new demands and create ever new "tensions"; unceasingly we are told that we must give in, and our "leaders" see that we do give in, because that is preferable to the only other alternative, general nuclear war and a destruction of the planet, or of all human life on the planet. After each new partial surrender the Soviets merely make still new demands. So we give in further, again to preserve "peace," because nuclear war is unthinkable. Until eventually there is nothing left to surrender, the Soviets have been conceded the whole earth—and the use of nuclear weapons can be confined to the annihilation of *their enemies* only, without any corresponding danger to themselves. The planet will then have been saved *for Communism*, for at least that part of the human race willing to accept Communism,—and presumably for Mr. Christian Herter.

Finally, and omitting many other words and deeds that are more than passing strange in the career of Christian Herter, we should recognize the extreme brand of his internationalism. This conspicuous facet of his character, notable throughout his whole career, has been particularly radiant in the glow of the

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long and heated drive to establish a World Court, with supreme authority over a no-longer-independent America.

In November, 1945 a resolution was introduced into the United State Senate, by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, giving consent to our government's acceptance of the jurisdiction of the World Court over our nation, except with regard to purely domestic affairs. A similar joint resolution was introduced in the House in December, 1945 by the then Congressman Christian A. Herter. (And there is nothing exceptional about Christian Herter and Wayne Morse being in agreement on any issue.) The vital question, of course, was as to who should decide what were purely domestic affairs. Our national independence was saved at that time, from the Morse-Herter attack, by an amendment consisting of six words, so that the resolution as passed accepted this World Court jurisdiction except with regard to domestic affairs "as determined by the United States." This was the now famous Connally Reservation. Messrs. Herter, Morse, and their fellow internationalists were halted for a while, but by no means stopped.

Of course if Mr. Herter cannot have one world complete, he would be glad to accept any reasonable division thereof, so long as it subordinated the United States to some international body and wiped out the independence for which our forefathers fought and died. When he was Congressman he signed the Atlantic Union resolution, which called for sinking our sovereignty into a union of the British empire and other European countries. One of Mr. Herter's speeches was recently printed and distributed by the United World Federalists—for good reasons, from their point of view. The dinner given in his honor by the International Friendship League was appropriate and deserved. He is busily involved, on the best of terms, with practically anybody and everybody promoting one-worldism. His greatest esteem, and moral support, is reserved for those who would subordinate the United States to a position of equality with Indonesia or Cuba or Poland or Iraq, in any grouping, under some superior overall authority of whatever form or

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nature.

But the World Court still holds first place, as a means of wiping out American independence, in the hearts of Christian A. Herter, Hubert Humphrey, Charles O. Porter, Henry Luce, Estes Kefauver, Erwin Griswold, and all their weird clique of ideological fellow travelers. And now that we have the renewed drive for "World Peace Through World Law" (as Dean Manion says, "What Law?"), to begin with repeal of the Connally Reservation, you will find Christian Herter busily supporting that drive wherever he can find an opening. On January 27, 1960, for instance, the *New York Times* reported: "The Administration, in a sudden change of tactics, sent its first team to the Capitol today to urge the repeal of a restriction on United States participation in the International Court of Justice. (The restriction, as the *Times* condescended to explain further in the article, was the Connally Reservation). Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State, and William P. Rogers, Attorney General, assured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the Administration's support for repeal." And you can be sure that Christian Herter will keep voicing the support by any administration, and also his own support, for any measure to destroy American sovereignty, piece by piece or all at once, until that destruction is achieved.

Does all of this mean that we think Christian Herter is a Communist. Heavens to Betsy, no. We doubt if Mr. Herter has ever even seen a Communist Party card in his life, much less carried one. And if Mr. Herter had ever even stumbled accidentally into a Communist cell meeting, we feel sure the Communists themselves would hurriedly have yanked him out, to save from any possible contamination a man who was so useful to them as a non-Communist.

What Mr. Herter is and wants is entirely clear. He is an extreme internationalist, who wishes to see a one-world government established with enforceable power over all the nations of the earth—with all of these nations socialized and equalized



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and denationalized, so that a one-world administration would be practicable. If it happened to turn out, through the accidents of history and the fortuitous concatenation of present forces at work, that the seat of that one-world government was in Moscow; that the world-wide armies enforcing universal peace were under control of the Kremlin and using the Kremlin's highly efficient police-state methods; that the necessary mechanics for making socialism work gave the Kremlin's agencies and viceroys complete control over all the raw materials, farm production, and industrial output of the whole world, to move around and distribute as they saw fit; and that in the making of the world-wide omelet of peoples a few tens of millions of human heads unavoidably got busted and a few hundred million of other human beings lived out their whole span of years as miserable slaves; if the achievement of the glorious, beautiful, egalitarian, socialized, and *peaceful* one world, ruled by world law, should just happen to evolve in that manner, this would be a most unfortunate coincidence, which we are sure Mr. Herter would consider regrettable. But not *too* regrettable, of course, if there were no other way to bring about so desirable an end.

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### Et Sequitur

The Roman Emperor Galerius once said to a soldier: "Allow me to offer my congratulations on the admirable skill you have shown in missing the mark. Not to have hit once in so many trials argues the most splendid talents for missing."

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And the *American Statesman* tells us about the Western Union boy who happened to be sent to the State Department to deliver a message. The next morning he was on his way to Iran as a Communications Expert—with a car, chauffeur, and two assistants.



# EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

*Mailed from Zurich, May 30, 1960*

William Schlammm has now become the Joe McCarthy of West Germany. The analogy is supported even more by the opposition he has aroused than by the success he has achieved. The whole pack of Communist wolves and liberal hyenas is now in full cry to destroy him. And the only consolation for anti-Communists, everywhere, is that it was still possible for so aggressive a fighter against the Communist-socialist machine to get such a tremendous bearing, and following, in West Germany, years after the vile tactics and vicious smears that liquidated McCarthy had also paralyzed that fighter's possible successors.

Mr. Schlammm's book, published in English as *Germany And The East-West Crisis*, has sold only a few thousand copies in America. The "liberal" blanket which smothers such anti-Communist volumes was already too powerful here. But under its German title, *Die Grenzen Des Wunders* (which translates as *The Limits Of The Miracle*), it has become the largest-selling non-fiction book in Germany since the war, and probably—as we believe to be the case—in all German publishing history. His success as a speaker has risen to the same level. His basic theme—which we also must surely face, but not with the same at-once-ness as the German citizenry—is simply that the West Germans must make up their minds either to stand up to the Soviets, at whatever cost, or to surrender; and that the surrender should not be by indecision and gradual default.

This clear-cut decision is the last thing the Communists want to allow, in any country. So they and their dupes and sympathizers are now out to silence Schlammm, discredit him, and then erase all he has had to say from the public mind. And *Der Spiegel* will serve to illustrate the nature and extensiveness of the attack. This news weekly, of the same format as *Time* and corresponding roughly to it, filled the front cover of its May 11 issue with a close-up picture of our Associate Editor, with the only caption under the picture reading: *Demagog Schlammm*. (Remember when *Time* did exactly the same thing to McCarthy?)

Page 14 of this number consists of a vicious editorial attack on Schlammm. Then Pages 28 through 42 (fifteen full pages, with dozens of pictures of Schlammm, out of a magazine of ninety pages altogether, including advertising) is given over entirely to exposing Schlammm, his supporters, and the mischief they are creating. In a large picture on the last page, Schlammm the pied piper is luring behind him an unending line of young men in uniform, roughly four abreast. The caption under the picture reads "... the Germans followed him, and he led them to the East. They never came back." Obviously this going out to the East to meet the Soviet enemy is absurd, when you could simply stay home and surrender to them instead.

In the last column on the last page of this grand slam against Schlammm, it is very solemnly charged that the unscrupulous villain has produced, on sophomoric youth and senile old gentlemen alike, the following effect:

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→ A total friend-or-enemy psychology. (This uncivilized attitude would keep you from regarding a Communist as your friend even long enough for him to get into position to cut your throat, or to send you to a "reform-through-labor" camp. Ed.)

→ The myth of eternal war. (Not to be confused with the highly trustworthy Communist myth of eternal "peace." Ed.)

→ A lack of comprehension of moral and ethical categories. (Apparently Mr. Schlamm has not yet grasped that loyalty or patriotism is unethical—except for the Communists. Ed.)

→ A desire for risk-taking. (Encouraging either young patriots or elder statesmen to want to take any risks to save their country from the Communists is certainly reprehensible. How oldfashioned can a man be? Ed.)

→ A susceptibility to superficial confusion. (This is terrible. Especially since, if the Germans are unfortunate enough to have any counterpart to Walter Lippmann, a deep and profound confusion is so readily available. Ed.)

→ A contempt for progressives; that is, liberals and socialists. (And this is serious. The idea could even spread to intelligent middle-aged people, as well as the young and the old. Then where would the editors of the large-circulation magazines be—in America or West Germany? Ed.)

The truth is that William Schlamm has become a terrific force for strengthening the backbone of West German resistance to Communist blackmail, blandishments, and ultimate purposes. And just at a time when the brainwashing of the citizens of the Federal Republic was proceeding so well that the Social Democrats—with the Communists acting as their pied pipers—had a feeling that everything was going their way.

It's no wonder the whole liberal establishment of West Germany is now in an uproar over Mr. Schlamm. He is speaking some very penetrating truth, as you will see from the article that follows. We are glad to learn that Adenauer had even more to do, than the considerable we had suspected, with getting the summit sell-out postponed. We are sure that Willi Schlamm, in turn, will be glad to learn that the vigorous protests of patriotic Americans, registered in hundreds of thousands of letters, telegrams, and postcards, played a more important part in this happy accomplishment than he had suspected. But any such mutual support, between Adenauer and a strong body of American anti-Communists, is enough to give acute shivers to all of the super-liberals on both sides of the Atlantic. And the liberals in West Germany don't care whether this Yank goes home or not—just so he goes away.

As for ourselves, having been mainly responsible for keeping William Schlamm in Europe all of 1958, when he wrote the book that made all of his present influence possible, we are very pleased at the near-miracle which Willi himself has performed, and proud of the performer. So much so that we can almost forgive him for causing this magazine to be late—by our waiting just for his article. Provided, of course, that he never does it again.

KHRUSHCHEV is getting all the credit for sparing us the ultimate "summit" calamities. But the man who, for the time being, saved the West is Konrad Adenauer. It was his firmness, his sagacity, his courage, that made the Soviets realize how little maneuvering the semi-retired Mr. Eisenhower was al-

lowed in Paris. And so, never a humble man, Khrushchev cursed a little—and went home.

### Adenauer's Opposition . . .

The critical moment of "summit" history had been reached, and passed, several weeks before the absurd "U-2"

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incident — when Adenauer suddenly popped up in Washington. He came, not exactly invited by the State Department, to tell Eisenhower a few exciting bits of news: That the German Government was not going to underwrite any Berlin "compromise"; that it was not going to participate in a "de facto" recognition of the Ulbricht regime, no matter what the American President might be prepared to concede; and, finally, that he, Adenauer, was determined to support the "haughty" policy of his friend, Charles de Gaulle.

It is quite possible that Mr. Herter didn't even then recognize the historical meaning of Adenauer's intervention. But the Soviets who, of course, were getting the news from Washington without delay, lost no time in evaluating the decisive change in the western climate: As Adenauer, after a heart-to-heart talk with de Gaulle, had finally assumed a posture of non-cooperation with any State Department appeasement, the United States would either have to go it alone, or submit to German firmness. And Khrushchev, who suffers from a healthy respect for German strength, didn't hesitate long in foreseeing the likely course the United States would *have* to take in such a dilemma; Germany remains the decisive American partner on the Continent, and there can't be an American continental policy that is opposed by a friendly German Government. Thus, the Soviets concluded, there can be no point in holding a "summit" meeting that had been vetoed in advance by Germany and France. And so the whole thing was called off.

These are the facts—but you won't find them mentioned in the meditations of America's certified commentators on

world affairs. Consider Walter Lippmann. He is, these days, the American most quoted by the Soviet press and the "neutralist" journals of all Europe. And it's not just his remarkable determination to put all the blame for the collapse in Paris on poor Eisenhower that makes Mr. Lippmann the main witness for the prosecution of America. More important is his indefatigable contribution to the smoke screen Khrushchev is throwing around the shambles of his defeat.

### Despite The Nonsense Of The "Experts" . . .

The American "experts" on foreign policy (or, anyhow, those who advise the Establishment and the metropolitan press) have lately been giving birth to the most fabulous speculations concerning the Parisian events. Leaving aside the inanities advanced by the speechwriters for Messrs. Kennedy and Stevenson (to wit: that "summit"-peace could have been restored, if only Mr. Eisenhower had politely apologized for America being alive), there are two schools of thoughtlessness. One proposes that Khrushchev has lost out to a "neo-Stalinist" Party faction which, in alliance with the Soviet Army, wants a return to the "cold war." And the other suggests that Red China is assuming the leadership of the Communist Empire; and thus, an agreeable Khrushchev must now obey the signals of a disagreeable Mao. Both speculations, in addition to being fallacious, and advanced without a shred of factual evidence, are a deadly danger to the West.

How many *more* blows of life experience will it take to beat the fact into the western mind that the Soviets have

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never stopped the "cold war" — and never can? The "summit" was conceived, not as a kind of peace conference to end the "cold war," and to establish "co-existence," but as a decisive move *in* the "cold war." For what we call "cold war" is nothing but the inevitable consequence of the fact that, to the Communists, *policy is the continuation of war by other means*. To stop the "cold war," the Communists would have to stop being Communists.

In particular, the Paris "summit" conference blew up because, unlike the United States, Communists do not participate in conferences without some certainty of success. And there was, this time, no chance — because Germany would not permit Macmillan and Eisenhower to sell her down the river. But there was nothing else that could be sold. For the Soviets, any settlement in the "cold war" means Soviet progress. They neither can, nor do they wish to, call off the "cold war." They merely mean to *win* it. And as there was to be no surrender of the West in Paris (thanks to Adenauer), they withdrew to regroup their forces for the next battle.

When and where it will take place, no one can tell, not even Khrushchev. The next few months will be a time of probing. And on their search for our most exposed flanks the Soviets might jump at Formosa, or at South Korea (where we have just intervened to destroy one of the few reliable Asian allies of the West), or at Turkey, or at Italy. Or they won't jump at all but merely wait for the Lippmanns and Kennedys and Stevensons to panic the West into a new and even more reckless readiness for "summitry" — a "summitry" that, next time, might be

allowed by a German Government no longer presided over by Konrad Adenauer. At which point I'd like to ponder a remark by Khrushchev that has been universally interpreted as a reference to the forthcoming American elections, but which, in my opinion, was addressed to Germany. I mean, of course, his parting statement in Paris that a next "summit" meeting might take place "in six or eight months."

True, in six or eight months a new President will speak for the United States. But (whether it will be Kennedy or Symington or Nixon) the next American President is most certainly not going to be an easier pushover for Khrushchev than was Mr. Eisenhower — for the simple reason that *any* future American President will be a politician, and not a famous general, and will therefore have to persuade the electorate, at least at the beginning of his term, that he is no appeasing stooge for the Soviets. For Khrushchev to anticipate a more successful "summit" meeting "in six or eight months," just because of the change of guards in America, would have been a delusion. But Khrushchev is not known for optimistic delusions. He figures in realistic terms. And the realistic hope for him is to expect, not exactly in six or eight months, but in about a year, a change in the leadership of West Germany.

And here is another key to the comprehension of recent events: The Soviets think they have reasons to anticipate a Social-Democratic victory in next year's German elections; and so they postponed the showdown on Berlin for another year. This Soviet anticipation, I am afraid, is entirely realistic. The Social Democrats have won, in recent months, in a few regional elections (Ba-

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varia, Wurtemberg-Baden) so decisively that, even if Adenauer is then still alive, they might win the general elections in 1961. And Willy Brandt (whom the same State Department that has destroyed Syngman Rhee keeps building up throughout the United States) would indubitably lose what Adenauer has gained—Germany's strategic role in the "cold war."

### Prevented Disaster At The Summit . . .

This, indeed, is the essential meaning of the Paris "collapse": Under Mr. Eisenhower's leadership the United States has lost even its power to surrender—and Germany, under Adenauer, has grown into the decisive factor of the western alliance. By the same token, the Soviets are resolved now to concentrate on undermining the German position. It can be softened, to the point of dissolution, by Willy Brandt's ascendancy to power. And while the Soviets, for the next year or so, may have less chances to influence domestic American politics, their prospects of interfering in German domestic affairs are much brighter.

In the first place, Adenauer's courage in torpedoing the surrender-conference at the "summit" showed against the very background of a frighteningly feeble, absurdly "appeasement"-minded German public opinion. It so happens that I myself have become a test case. For the last few months, I was engaged in a truly national discussion with Germany: my lectures in dozens of German cities were mass meetings (in about forty lectures I have talked to more than 100,000 Germans); my book, *Die Grenzen des Wunders* (Title of the American edition: "Germany and the

East-West Crisis"), is still arousing a storm of controversy; and the synthetic German "public opinion" erupts in an unprecedented flood of attacks against my "war-mongering" (my scrap-books contain about 2,500 clippings collected in eight months).

Actually I served (and I was happy to do so) merely as a scapegoat for Adenauer. The "neutralist" German press (and there is hardly any other) no longer dares attack the venerable Old Man directly; and so it seems determined to slaughter him by proxy. True, no one will deny that the popular response to this strange debate proves the German press to be a thoroughly synthetic "public opinion": millions of Germans, for the first time since 1945 are actively taking sides, and by no means only the wrong side. But, also for the first time since 1945, organized "public opinion" in Germany is demonstrating its capacities as an instrument to be masterfully played by the Soviet virtuosos of brainwashing.

For Adenauer, to have ignored that monolithic "public opinion" in Germany was a measure of his guts. No such guts can be expected from Willy Brandt who, on the contrary, is betting on the *support* of the "neutralist" German press. But even if he were not—he would be merely the front-man for a Social Democratic Party that is being bossed by a tough Herbert Wehner who, though he left the German Communist Party in the forties, remains the German counterpart of Tito: a Revolutionary Socialist who desires a German, not a Russian, version of Revolutionary Socialism. And Tito, by definition, is a Revolutionary Socialist who in all crucial moments *must* line up with the Soviets.

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### But We Still Have Lippmann's Line . . .

Which gets us to that other wild speculation: That Khrushchev has become Mao's junior partner. Of course, it's entirely possible that Chinese and Russian Communists are engaged in some internal brawls for position. Communists *always* are. In no political movement is there, quite naturally, so much catty intrigue as in the Communist Party. This is precisely because the wages of being on the top are the privileges of unparalleled power. The likelihood of infights grows with the incentive. But, to repeat, such fights have nothing to do with the health, the effectiveness, the undiluted zeal of the Party. In the Communist Party, it never matters who the top dog is—whatever he is, the Party proceeds according to unchangeable plan.

So even if there were any evidence of a clash between Mao and Khrushchev (there is none), it would have no bearing on goals and strategies of World Communism. Chinese, of course, are Chinese, and Russians are Russians; but Chinese and Russian Communists are first and last Communists. A western policy that permits itself to be determined by rumors of a Chinese-Soviet feud will explode in the face of the western world. The conveyor belts for the fabrication of such rumors are made in Moscow. And at any decisive moment Chinese, Russian, Yugoslav, and German Communism will most fraternally cooperate—and lick a western world thoroughly confused by its "sophistication."

Walter Lippmann, who even for the past forty years hasn't been exactly a blessing, is now reaching his pinnacle of mischief. Every bit of his "reason-

ing" is an invaluable asset for Khrushchev who, thanks to our Lippmania, may yet handsomely dig himself out from under the Parisian debris. Hypnotized by *fata morgana*s of internal Communist feuds and rifts, the West may allow the German "Left" to conquer power in Bonn—and thus, with one stroke, undo the present balance of power in the whole world. No doubt, every point along the West's perimeter is important; but the West must not for a second lose sight of the elementary fact that Germany remains the strategic area in which the fate of the entire free world is being determined—for good.

\* \* \*

### While In Turkey . . .

All around that German center, precisely because Adenauer has made it firm and unyielding, the Soviets keep nibbling away. The military *putsch* in Turkey, to be sure, has been interpreted on the whole as a patriotic undertaking without any inherent political ambition one way or another; and, indeed, the General in charge of the country seems to be a man of a disarmingly virginal mind. But this, precisely, is the danger. The fine art of Communist strategy has always been to pick in the "underdeveloped" and semi-"underdeveloped" areas such virginal minds—and to activate them by magnificently effective operators who, for the time being, remain backstage. The dethroned Turkish Prime Minister Menderes, whatever else he was, was most certainly no naive "progressive." He also was a proven friend of the West. His naive successor, whatever else he will turn out to be, is bound to act as a "progressive" and, to put it cautiously, a friend of "both sides." This is the inexorable consequence of



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a military *putsch* that has no clear-cut political ambition: Naive soldiers, anxious to get "popular approval," tend to fall for a clever Left that knows how to simulate mass applause. The inescapable political style of a military *junta* is "dynamism"—and in that field, trained Communist operators remain undisputed masters.

### In Japan, In Italy, And Everywhere . . .

Before these comments can be published, Japan may have passed its point of no return. A few years after General MacArthur resigned from his unforgettable consulate in the Far East, Japan, at any rate, is demonstrating the short-sightedness of the political myth that stays at the bottom of our foreign policy; that the type of parliamentary democracy that has become America's organically grown tradition is the only correct democratic system anywhere else in the world; and that, therefore, American support of a foreign regime must depend on that regime's readiness to imitate American rules of the political game. That is what the Kishi government, out of necessity rather than for indigenous reasons, has been doing all the time — with fatal consequences. Under the conditions of postwar Japan (and the greater part of Asia and Africa), a necessarily superficial imitation of American-style democracy must result in mob rule — and, before our eyes, Japan is learning this dreadful lesson. We shall be extremely lucky if this proves not to be the last lesson Japan will be allowed to learn.

At the moment, the Japanese mob opposition against the Kishi regime centers on anti-American demagoguery, not yet on an openly pro-Soviet basis.

But anti-Americanism is — and not just in Japan — all that the Soviets need to advance their own policy. Basically, developments in Japan are bound to resemble those of Cuba: Atomized and morally disarmed by a mechanical application of "majority-rules," a people unprepared for the delicate workings of parliamentary democracy is first aroused by a violent envy of rich Uncle Sam and then becomes an easy prey for Soviet operators. This trick works all around the world — in Italy as well as in Cuba and Japan.

For the permanent governmental crisis in Italy that is moving towards a final solution (most likely in October or November) is basically a crisis of a "parliamentary" democratic concept not quite suited for Italy's political and historic reality. Not unlike the Weimar Republic of the late twenties, contemporary Italy simply cannot produce a governmental parliamentary majority of the center: Between them, the extreme forces of the Left and the Right make a middle-of-the-road government unfeasible. So what can be done? Should the essence of freedom be saved and protected, even if that were to mean a violation of the rules of the game? Or must the rules of the game be obeyed, even if that were to mean the loss of freedom? In practical political terms: Should a workable parliamentary majority be attained with the support of pro-Communist Nenni (as there is no other reliable way of attaining it) — or should Italy, to protect freedom against Communists as well as Fascists, embark upon a course that is not "parliamentary" in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word? This, in a nutshell, is the essence of the decision Italy must face without much further delay.

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### The Communists Fight The Cold War . . .

Which choice it will take is, unfortunately, quite obvious. Italy's Christian Democrats will choose Nenni. His friend Fanfani is already in full control of the Christian Democratic party, and Italy's current Prime Minister, Tambroni, seems resigned to serving as Fanfani's stand-in for the summer months of profitable "Olympic" tourism. The dice will be cast by November. We are witnessing another human sacrifice for the greater glory of "parliamentary democracy," to preserve the *formalities* of the game, another civilized nation is willing to lose the game. And the same American commentators, who would sputter contempt and poisonous ire against an Italian leadership willing to save the integrity of Italian (and western) freedom, will applaud Nenni's ascendancy to power — the end of freedom in Italy, and the end of western control of the Mediterranean.

France, in 1958, has refused to be trapped by a democratic "logic" that, with appalling directness, keeps serving Communist goals all around the world: By entrusting General de Gaulle with almost royal powers, it has gained a new lease on life. Had de Gaulle failed in 1958, France would today be ruled by a regime of the "popular front" — which, I am afraid, would be its fate in a moment if the General were to die.

Germany is being driven towards the same storm center — and it will be engulfed in that storm by the autumn of 1961, at the latest. For even if *Der Alte* should perform for another year as vitally as he has been performing in recent months, Germany's general elections of October, 1961 may be the first to go against him. In revealing truth,

Adenauer has won all his electoral victories, not with his foreign policy, but with the miracle of German domestic prosperity. But, after ten years of uninterrupted well-being, "prosperity" is no longer an issue; *everybody* in Germany takes it simply for granted. Thus, I am afraid, "prosperity" is no longer Adenauer's winning trump. The satiated German *Buerger* may next time respond to other stimuli — for instance, the fear of trouble with the Soviets, unless Germany was willing to "negotiate" through a Social-Democratic Government.

### With "Peace" And "Democracy" As Their Weapons . . .

Fear, it seems to me, is the whole frame of reference the Soviets are building for the near future all over the world; and in Germany especially. Not for a moment will the world be allowed "serenity." Twenty-four hours a day will the world tremble with the nervous anticipation of a major conflict; this is the strategic purpose of the alleged shift in Soviet policy that has brought about an alleged return to the "cold war." The objective, quite simply, is to achieve one nervous collapse after another. And, as a result of such nervous collapses, one surrender after another. The most important surrender, of course, would be that of Germany. Out of the synthetic "public opinion" in Germany there emerges, with ever increasing clarity, the slogan; "If Communism can win without a war, may it win." The only cure for this paralysis of fear is an American policy that would turn the tables on the Soviets and, for a change, make *them* pay for the avoidance of conflict. There is just no other policy.



# A FOOTNOTE TO THE AIR FORCE MANUAL

by

D. HAYES MURPHY

*Mr. Murphy is a very successful manufacturer and highly regarded citizen of Hartford, Connecticut. He is also a good friend of your editor. And some time ago he sent us a copy of a speech which he had made on March 25, 1960 to a service club in Hartford.*

*This excellent speech contained one small but quite interesting item, recovered from the pigeon holes of history, which became even more interesting when the storm of controversy recently broke over an Air Force Manual which dared to tell the truth about Communist infiltration into our churches. With Mr. Murphy's permission, and with the minor editing required because of pulling these pages out of context, we present below that part of the speech which had stuck so forcefully in our memory.*

In 1933 I attended a Babson Conference at Wellesley Hills. The Program was featured by three speakers. One explained Fascism, the second Socialism, and the third Communism. When the Communist got up to speak, he said that he agreed with the Socialist so far as objectives were concerned, but that Communists did not have the patience to wait for the world change to be brought about by peaceful parliamentary procedure. "We believe," said the Communist, Mr. X [in substance, and as nearly verbatim as my recollection can make it, in this and the following quotations], "that our cause is so essential to the welfare of the human race that we will employ any means — including force — to accomplish our purpose."

Communist X then turned to a Babson chart which was hanging on the wall behind him. It was the regulation Babson chart, with its X-Y line, showing the average upward trend of production. Areas in black above that line

indicated periods of prosperity, and areas in red below the line indicated periods of depression. It was a long chart, extending back to the 1870's. Communist X, pointing to the areas below the line, said: "These are depression periods, and you will notice they are in red. That's our color — red. And those red patches are getting bigger and bigger as the years go by. Some day there will come a depression so big that unemployment and discontent will be general throughout the land. That will be the day when we start our revolution and take over the United States for Communism."

It was a bloodcurdling speech. And at that point a little lady in the audience just couldn't take any more. She jumped to her feet and gave Communist X the beautiful tongue-lashing he so well deserved. She told him that we didn't want him in this country and that if he thought the Russian system was so good he should go there where he belonged. He listened with cold and

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cynical politeness. When she had finished he said: "Madam, I presume you are an American citizen. I am an American citizen — born right here in Boston. I like it here and have no intention of accepting your invitation to go to Russia. In fact, when the revolution comes I wouldn't miss it for anything because I will be one of the leaders."

At the time this Communist was speaking we were still in the biggest of all depressions, the great depression of the '30's. I often wondered why they did not take advantage of that situation to start their revolution. Eventually I learned the reason. They simply did not have the strength and numbers then, as they were well aware. In 1931, one of their own, Dimitry Z. Manuilsky, had made a revealing speech at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow. I believe the report of what he said, though much argued-about now as to documentation, to be substantially correct. And I believe it deserves repetition today. Here it was — in 1931:

"War to the hilt between Communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in twenty or thirty years.

"To win, we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

THAT IS THE STORY OF THE 1933 Babson Conference and Communist X, as I knew it when I incorporated it into a speech I made here in Hartford in September, 1958. After that meeting I determined to renew my efforts to find out who Communist X was and what he had been doing since 1933. So I wrote Babson's again, repeating an earlier request, and urging that they make another search of their old files. They did. And this time they came up with the answer. So here is the rest of the story.

The name of Communist X is Professor Harry F. Ward and his address, Union Theological Seminary, New York. I wrote to Professor Ward, asking what he said at the 1933 Conference and how he felt about it now. Here is his reply, dated October 17, 1959:

"Because of being retired and without a secretary, and two deadlines for an article and a pamphlet to meet, I have been unable until now to answer your request.

"I regret that I have no recollection of what I said at the Babson 1933 Conference. However, since that was the year that Scribner's published my study of social incentives in the Soviet Union, which I made there during the academic year of 1931-2, under the title, *In Place Of Profit*, it is safe to say that what is in that book was the foundation of what I said. If your city library does not have a copy, your state library may, and should have an extension mail service.

"As to the second part of your request, another deadline denies me time to say anything except that I have kept informed up to date on my special interest in the Soviet Union and what I said in my book still stands up."

## A Footnote To The Air Force Manual

Sure enough, his book was in our Hartford Library and the card showed that it had been withdrawn forty-five times in the years 1935 to 1959 inclusive. And two brief quotations from this book, *In Place Of Profit*, will give you a general idea of its nature:

"The suppression of the minority of exploiters . . . will cost far less bloodshed than the suppression of the slaves, serfs, or wage laborers, and will cost the human race far less. So today Communists say, 'We are a hard, a cruel people, even to ourselves. We keep our eyes on the goal.'"

"For the compensating aspects of religion the Communists have no need, since theirs is a world-conquering faith."

As to what the Professor has been doing since 1933, when I met him at Babson's, I shall read to you from a Government document and you may draw your own conclusions. This is from the sworn testimony of Manning Johnson before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, July 7, 8, 13 and 14, 1953, Page 278. At the end of his testimony Mr. Johnson was asked to summarize the over-all manner in which the Communists have attempted to infiltrate and poison the religious organizations of America. Mr. Johnson, a former top-level member of the Communist Party, who had become converted from the error of his ways, complied conscientiously with this request. And the following is quoted from his summary:

"Once the tactic of infiltrating religious organizations was set by the Kremlin, the actual mechanics of implementing the 'new line' was a question of following the general experiences of the living church movement in Russia, where the Communists

discovered that the destruction of religion could proceed much faster through infiltration of the church by Communist agents operating within the church itself.

"The Communist leadership in the United States realized that a small force of Communist agents concentrated in seminaries and divinity schools could influence the ideology of future clergymen in the paths most conducive to Communist purposes.

"The Communists had small forces in the seminaries under the leadership of Harry F. Ward. These forces were quickly augmented by additional recruits and siphoned into the divinity institutions by manipulations of Communist cells in the seminaries. This infiltration into seminaries was further expedited by the use of considerable forces the Communists had in educational institutions which were eligible for hire by divinity organizations.

"The plan was to make the seminaries the neck of a funnel through which thousands of potential clergymen would issue forth, carrying with them, in varying degrees, an ideology and slant which would aid in neutralizing the anti-Communist character of the church and also to use the clergy to spearhead important Communist projects.

"The policy was successful beyond even the Communists' expectations."

So now we have answer to a question which had been worrying me for over a quarter of a century. We know who Communist X of the 1933 Babson Conference was. We know what he has been doing and can guess what he still is doing. But why on earth our Government allows such long continued treachery is still a bigger question, to which there seems to be no answer.

## In Place Of A Thousand Words



*The Grass Gets Little Water, But —*  
**HOW THE COMMUNIST WEEDS DO LOVE IT!**

## BULLETS

Ten good soldiers, wisely led,  
Will best a hundred without a head.

*D'Arcy Thompson*

How times change. A few years ago  
you could finance a pretty fair sized  
war for what a few weeks of peace  
cost us today.

*Santa Ana Register*

In Congress a man gets up and says  
nothing. Nobody listens. Then every-  
body disagrees.

*Maine Farmer,*

*Quoted By Leonard Lyons*

"I'm a self made man. What did I  
do wrong?"

*Let's Have Better Mottoes Association*

People would be only too glad to  
mind their own business — if the gov-  
ernment would give it back.

*Dan Bennett*

Throughout all human history the  
forces of "liberalism" (usually success-  
ful) have been the forces of ignorance  
marshalled by a sophisticated hypocrisy.

*Our Own Observation*

The state is the great fiction by  
which everybody wants to enrich him-  
self at the expense of everybody.

*Bastiat*

The fool in a hurry drinks his tea  
with chopsticks.

*Chinese Proverb*

Boy to girl studying menu: "Filet mig-  
non? It's pickled goat's liver. Why?"

*Kiwanis Magazine*

"Young man, what do you mean you  
don't sell goldfish here? Isn't this a  
drugstore?"

*Paul Steiner*

We are served worse by many servants  
than by a few.

*Aristotle*

Must we keep our eyes shut and our  
pocketbooks open to projects fostered  
under the beautiful names of education  
and religion, no matter by whom, or  
how sponsored or run?

*McDaniel Lewis*

Coexistence . . . When their knife  
and your back go steady.

*The American Statesman*

One man — in the right place at the  
right time — can betray millions.

*Geza Korda*

Americans will pay for government  
this year more than they will spend on  
all food, clothing, medical care, and  
religious activities combined.

*National Review*

Sign on stenographer's desk: "Gone  
for the day. Will be back for lunch  
and coffee breaks."

*Let's Have Better Mottoes Association*

The sap runs in the spring. But the  
girl catches him anyway.

*Try Square*

A fool may be known by six things:  
anger, without cause; speech, without  
profit; change, without progress; in-  
quiry, without object; putting trust in  
a stranger; and mistaking foes for  
friends.

*Arabian Proverb*

Am I therefore become your enemy,  
because I tell you the truth?

*Galatians IV, 16*

# A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

Barry Goldwater is the most conspicuous conservative in the Republican Party today. He was returned to the Senate in 1958 despite the best efforts of an extremely efficient gang of political assassins. Recently the Republicans of South Carolina instructed their delegates to vote for his nomination at the coming Republican convention. Everywhere that one goes in this country, one hears staunch Republicans hope that their party will choose Senator Goldwater as its presidential candidate, but they speak, for the most part, in the wistful tones that men use when they hope that a wastrel son may mend his ways. Indeed, the amphisbænic "experts," who knew that Taft could not win in 1952, seem now to have convinced almost everyone that the Republican convention will be in the control of forces that will brook no interference from non-professionals. But this is not yet certain.

If a rumor which comes to us from two fairly good sources is correct, the spectacular defeat of Robert Morris in New Jersey was at least partly procured by a thunderous cracking of whips in the Republican machine organizations during the last week before the primaries, and the whips were cracked in response to orders from Mr. Nixon transmitted through Attorney General Rogers. Mr. Nixon's motive is said to have been, not personal antipathy, but a need to contrive a vicarious demonstration that Senator Goldwater, if nom-

inated, could not be elected. This would suggest, at least, that the convention's chickens, so confidently counted by the "experts," have not all been hatched.

Senator Goldwater has written a clear and forthright statement of his principles, *THE CONSCIENCE OF A CONSERVATIVE* (Victor, Shepherdsville, Kentucky; 123 pages, \$3.00). No one can complain that he has not been explicit. He uses words that have become indecorous in our fashionable finishing schools, and if this little book should fall into the hands of our more innocent Liberals, who have been raised on the Elsie Dinsmore stories approved by Aunties Adlai and Eleanor, the emotions excited in their tightly corseted minds may call for restoratives more potent than smelling salts.

The principles stated in this book sound like a consensus of the conservative meetings that I have attended in recent years. Senator Goldwater, disdaining the ambiguities and self-contradictions that are now regarded as being as indispensable to a politician as is a good blind to a duck hunter, proposes a return to Constitutional government by (a) fully repudiating the totalitarian concept of the Welfare State, (b) abolishing the unconstitutional usurpations of power, such as the present system of agricultural serfdom, which corrupted courts have granted to bureaucrats, (c) liquidating, immediately or, in a few instances, over a period of ten years, all the subsidies, "welfare" schemes, and



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socialistic agencies devised by "New Dealers" to corrupt the electorate, (d) repealing all grants of special rights to gangsters operating in the guise of labor unions, (e) eliminating a *graduated* income tax, and (f) recognizing the rights guaranteed to states by the Constitution, including, of course, complete control over their educational systems, which means that they have a right to segregate pupils on any basis they deem proper or, if they should so desire, abolish public education. (In an excursus the author shows that he is aware of the extent to which all public education has been poisoned by the cheap sophistries of John Dewey, but remedies must be found on the local level.) On foreign policy Senator Goldwater is equally unequivocal: we must stop the idiotic system of "foreign aid," and we must recognize that Communism is our implacable enemy, which, if we are to survive, we must destroy by all necessary means, including, if others fail, war.

The most rigorous conservative critic will find little in this book to which he can take exception. He will note that Senator Goldwater has chosen not to discuss (1) the restoration of a sound currency, (2) immigration, (3) the removal of traitors now holding positions of authority in government and the armed services, and a number of minor matters. At only one point can it fairly be argued that the Senator has hedged. After explicitly recommending that we "withdraw diplomatic recognition from all Communist governments including that of the Soviet Union," and recognizing both the extent of Communist control of the "United Nations" and the use of that weird device to induce "an unconstitutional surrender of American

sovereignty," he cautiously says that "withdrawal from the United Nations is probably not the answer to these problems." Now the reserved meaning may be one of which most of us would approve. But many conservatives feel, as I do, that the "United Nations" poses numerous problems, all of which could be solved in thirty minutes by one company of U. S. Marines.

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In October, 1958, the *Pioche Record*, a newspaper in southeastern Nevada, began publication of a series of nine editorials on the Constitution. Since that time the newspaper has had to do without the advertising that various corporations, including *all* of the resort hotels in the region, had normally placed in its pages. Our inquiries by telephone have not enabled us to determine the relation between these two events, for discordant explanations are offered by persons who should be in a position to know. One is that the withdrawal of advertising was contrived by the malice of a discharged employé, and therefore merely coincidental. The other is that the advertisers were made indignant by the newspaper's temerity in reminding Americans that they have rights under a document that had best be forgotten.

The editorials have been published, with an introduction by Congressman Dale Alford, under the title, *THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS* (Speller & Sons, New York; 63 pages, \$2.00 cloth). Expounding the indisputable meaning of the Constitution with a vigor and clarity that reminds one of Mr. Holmes Alexander's articles, "How to Read the *Federalist*," in *AMERICAN OPINION* (see especially the issues of October and November, 1958, and September, 1959),



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the author of these essays shows that the decision of the Supreme Court concerning the segregation of races in Southern schools is nothing less than a revolutionary usurpation of power, a disguised *coup d'état* carried out by a "conspiracy to destroy the Constitution."

These articles were timely when they were written, before the governor of Virginia began to display the strange tergiversation that did much to confuse the South, and they are even more timely today, when the citizens of all states must understand the totalitarian forces that are capturing them. The author has merely stated what must be obvious to everyone who has read and understood the Constitution. Of course, no amount of lucidity and logic will convince sentimentalists whose thinking is done in their viscera, and these qualities will merely exasperate our "intellectuals," who believe themselves appointed by some unnamed divinity to trick Americans into doing anything that is "socially desirable" because it enables uneducated educators to feel important.

The present crisis, of course, is possible only because Americans, confused by glib and vapid sophistries, have almost ceased to think in terms of principles, and hence fail to understand the implications of governmental acts. What if the Supreme Court, which based its infamous decision in part on a Communist-inspired scribbling which stated that "the American Constitution is in many respects impractical and ill suited for modern conditions," should simply decree that the Constitution is therefore unconstitutional? What if Eisenhower, in the event that the Senate should refuse to accept some deal made at the "Summit," should please some of his advisers by sending in the para-

troopers? Such acts would doubtless be politically inexpedient at this time, but precedents for them have been set by actions which differ from them *legally* only in the way that the theft of a lamb differs from the theft of a sheep.

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A much more complete and philosophic discussion of the same question is Felix Morley's *FREEDOM AND FEDERALISM* (Regnery, Chicago; 281 pages, \$5.00). The author has given us a singularly perspicuous analysis of the federal government established by the Constitution, and a summary of the historical process by which the structure of American government was distorted and broken down in favor of an alien and inherently preposterous form of government called "democracy"—a political disease against which the means of prophylaxis adopted by the founders of our Republic unfortunately proved inadequate.

If we are to understand a situation, we must understand its causes, and Mr. Morley's historical account will suffice to warn us against optimistic oversimplifications. It is true that our imminent peril is the work of the great Communist conspiracy, which has been operating on a constantly expanding scale in our country since 1872. It is also true that the success of this conspiracy was largely made possible by our foolhardy failure to prevent the immigration of actual and potential members of the conspiracy. But it is well to remember that the seeds of totalitarian tyranny were present in our very origin, when our population was both culturally and racially comparatively homogeneous. Mr. Morley points out that the concept of federalism was obscured and weakened before the Civil War, which could not otherwise have occurred.

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The framers of the Constitution, as Hamilton assured the legislature of New York, thought it impossible that one state would ever be so foolish as to be a party to coercion of another state. The Civil War proved them wrong, but the real subversion of the Constitution came with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. These amendments, conceived in the diseased and malignant soul of Thaddeus Stevens as part of a policy that no American can now contemplate without shame and remorse, were not only as repugnant to the intent of the Constitution as would have been an amendment establishing a monarchy, but they were never legally ratified. Of this there can be no possible doubt, and so long as we go on pretending that these amendments are legally valid and part of the Constitution, we shall as a nation be in the moral position of a man who holds possession of a farm or building under deeds which he knows to have been forged. He may resolve to use honestly the proceeds of theft, but the moral paradox will taint his every act.

Like so many of our other ills, the general misunderstanding of the basic principle of our federal system has been the result of slovenly language and blurred thinking. There is a form of government, which has much to recommend it, that is properly called democracy, but as Aristotle and every subsequent political thinker (including Madison and other framers of the Constitution) has clearly seen, it is possible only in a political unit small enough to form a single community whose citizens can have personal knowledge of one another, and carefully exclude from citizenship persons who do not share the community's traditions. But it is a char-

acteristic of untutored minds to ignore the necessary relationship of form to size. It is, for example, a biological fact that the human organism is viable only within narrow limits of size, and that men whose height exceeds seven feet are invariably weak, short-lived, and sterile. But children and primitives imagine that an increase in size is an increase in strength, and so believe in giants forty feet tall, although such a being, if it existed, would be so unwieldy that it could not move a step without fracturing its limbs. The same kind of uncontrolled imagination leads people to believe, against all the evidence, in the possibility of a big democracy.

The absurdity of this notion was partly concealed by the myth of the "general will" that was devised by the muddled mind of Jean Jacques Rousseau, a vain, pretentious, and ignorant adventurer gifted with a capacity for vivid and rhythmical prose, who wandered about Europe abandoning his illegitimate children and perpetually snivelling about the supernal purity of his heart. Rousseau's romantic nonsense has a strange fascination for sentimental and uncritical minds, and should be studied in detail by anyone who wishes to understand the political disasters of the Nineteenth Century and its aftermath.

As Mr. Morley points out, the myth of a "general will" provided a theory whereby centralization of our national government could be described as "democratic," although it necessarily destroys the local form of democracy, which alone is possible, and also destroys the federal principle by which the framers of the Constitution sought to preserve the sovereignty of the states and the

## A Review Of Reviews

liberties of individuals. Now the shabby sham that is based on the notion of a "general will" and currently called "democracy" is a social process comparable to a chemical reaction and can have only one product: a totalitarian dictatorship that is a mere regression to the despotism and slave-morality of the Orient. That, of course, is what is now happening.

We could save ourselves from serfdom by returning to the federal form of government embodied in the Constitution and the first twelve amendments—and making ourselves and the holders of franchise morally equal to the responsibilities of free men. But there is one difficulty, one real impediment to the attainment of full liberty, both political and economic. Mr. Morley, unlike Mr. Chodorov in his excellent *RISE AND FALL OF SOCIETY* (see *AMERICAN OPINION*, Sept. 1959, p. 49), does face this problem.

There is one, and only one, valid reason for a strong central government: war. Mr. Morley notes that our wars have always promoted centralization; and "democracy," despite its cant about the beauties of peace, seems instinctively to seek war. (But the "instinct" may be the conscious choice of governors. Certainly one reason why Roosevelt was so eager to get a war started in Europe was to further his plans for a personal absolutism, and it is clear that the reason why even non-Communist bureaucrats in Washington were eager to see the Soviet equipped with atomic bombs was a realization that if Americans were not frightened by a strong and terrible enemy, they would not long tolerate a great mass of parasites to which they are now in economic and political subjection.) Our federal system

was based on the assumption that our wars would be limited to repelling invaders, and Mr. Morley believes that foreign wars, or the threat of them, always impel nations to the centralization that culminates in a dictatorship.

All this we may grant. But nothing is more certain than that we are *now* engaged in a war which we are losing by folly and treason; that unless Russia and China are destroyed by internal explosions, we must win that war or perish; and that if we win, we shall emerge as a great imperial power. Like Rome after the Second Punic War, we shall have passed the point of no return, and like Rome we shall find ourselves compelled to shoulder unwillingly the burden of empire. But the empire in turn was the doom of the Roman Republic. Is it possible that we could, as England did with fair success for a century, combine freedom at home with imperialism abroad?

Mr. Morley sees this grim prospect, but he can only offer us the hope that somehow, somehow, the war will abate, rather than increase, in intensity.

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The framers of our Constitution were wise men, but they were not omniscient. As may be seen from such devices as the electoral college, they did not anticipate the true horrors of the two-party system, universal suffrage, and an increasingly corrupted electorate. Indeed, if they had had even a moment's provision of a ward organization in a modern city, they would have been tempted to throw down their pens in disgust and despair.

John S. Norris in *THE CONNIVERS* (Vantage, New York; 353 pages, \$3.95) gives under the guise of a novel a tepidly realistic and pedestrian account

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of the workings of a ward machine in Chicago. From this book you can learn much about a dirty little business and the dirty little men who run it, and you will wonder whether any nation can long survive the unlimited suffrage that makes them possible.

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Among the millions of soldiers and civilians whom the Anglo-American armies under the command of General Eisenhower drove to death or slavery in Russia in 1945 was the late Nikolai N. Krasnov, Jr., author of *THE HIDDEN RUSSIA* (Holt, New York; 347 pages, \$5.00). An interpreter assigned to General Vassiliev of the Free Russian army, he witnessed the treachery by which English officers, pledging the honor of Great Britain, cozened the general, disarmed his troops, ambushed his officers on their way to a "conference" to which they had been invited by the Allied commanders, bludgeoned them, loaded them into trucks, and delivered them to the Communists, as planned by Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta.

With the exception of a few who found means of committing suicide, the leaders of the men whom we thus betrayed were eventually executed, and the rest were distributed among the various slave-labor camps, partly, perhaps, because the Soviets needed beasts of burden, but primarily, as Mr. Krasnov perceived, so that they would bear witness to the infamy of the Western powers and assure the Russian people that the British and Americans were as perfidious and inhuman as the Communists with whom they so cordially cooperated.

Mr. Krasnov, who was a slave for a little more than ten years and then re-

leased, almost by chance, when the Kremlin thought it expedient to quell general unrest with simulated reforms, describes the Russian people in terms that, on the whole, correspond to the thesis of Eugene Lyons' *Our Secret Allies*. He reports that they regard Communism as an international conspiracy and resent references to the Soviet regime as "Russian." They bear Communism with fortitude, being held in check partly by the terrorism of the MVD and partly by the discouragement and confusion produced by apparently coordinated propaganda from the Kremlin and the West which gives the impression that the West hates Russia but, whether from fear or inclination, does not oppose the Soviet. Mr. Krasnov, who died at the age of 41, three years after he was released, did not live to comment on the effect of the photographs, recently distributed throughout Russia, which show the Butcher and Eisenhower grinning at one another in a spirit of cordial cooperation. Even more effective, of course, will be the current news that the Americans, in preparation for the Communist occupation of South Korea, have forced Dr. Syngman Rhee out of office, thus proving once again that the United States government will always stab in the back anyone who seriously resists the Communist conspiracy.

Since the procedures of the MVD (=NKVD) are evidently standardized, the almost incredible torture and brutality inflicted on Mr. Krasnov conformed in general to the patterns described in John Noble's *I Was a Slave in Russia* (Devin-Adair, \$3.75), Elinor Lipper's *Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps* (Regnery, \$3.50), and Joseph Scholmer's *Vorkuta* (Holt, \$3.75). Even more

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appalling than the ingenious cruelty is the fact that it cannot conceivably have served a rational purpose; in these nightmarish books we seem to witness, not the excesses of men, however passionate or ruthless, but the blind malignancy of unhuman things — zombies, energumens, ghouls — come to replace mankind. You will read Mr. Krasnov's story with horror blunted only by the callosity that our minds acquire from the incredible accumulation of horrors

in the modern world. But you will do well to remember that this book will also be read by many nominal Americans, pompous little men who are now preaching "peace" and "brotherhood," and swelling with indignation over the congressional investigating committees' "violation of basic civil liberties" — sleek little men who will read it with little shivers of delight as they imagine the fun they are going to have when they put on their MVD uniforms.

### Brief Mention

*The Invisible Presidency.* By Louis W. Koenig. Rinehart, New York. \$6.75. Call them what you will, confidants, unofficial Presidents or second consuls; they have been closer to the real history of the presidency, oftentimes, than the office holders themselves. Hamilton, Van Buren, William Loeb, Jr., Colonel House, Thomas Corcoran, Harry Hopkins and Sherman Adams were, and usually by their own making, indispensable to the presidents they served or controlled.

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*The New Psychiatry.* By Dr. Nathan Masor. Philosophical Library, New York. \$3.75. In the author's opinion psychoanalysis has not progressed much beyond quackery but Dr. Masor's severest criticism is levelled against the psychiatrist with his jargon, tranquilizers and shock treatment. Dr. Masor believes that medication is, by far, more scientific and efficient than is psychic treatment in many cases of mental disease.

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*Let's Try Barter.* By Charles Morrow Wilson. Devin-Adair, New York. \$3.95.

This humorous, profound, and informative lesson in the basic economics of trade serves as a devastating indictment of inflation and of confiscatory taxation.

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*A Proper Monetary And Banking System For The United States.* Edited by James Washington Bell and Walter Earl Spahr. Ronald Press, New York. \$6.00.

Nine common-sense economists have contributed to this symposium, which has recommendations for fiscal sanity that, if adopted by the Federal Government, would probably restore our national monetary policy to its pre-New Deal position.

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*The Constitution Of Liberty.* By Friedrich A. Hayek. University of Chicago. \$7.50.

This is for all students of political, constitutional, social and economic thought, who are bored with authors who confound liberty with license. Dr. Hayek equates liberty with freedom and emphasizes the integrity of man within society.

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# A REVIEW OF THE NEWS

*This is a magazine of opinion. But opinion should be based  
on facts. Here are the facts for*

**MARCH, 1960**

## **Tuesday, March 1**

→ President Eisenhower says that the United States "repudiates dictatorships in any form."

→ For the second time within a month, Soviet Premier Khrushchev visits India for talks with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

→ Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, praises a Soviet plan to open a Moscow university for students from Asia, Africa and Latin America; and, in the same column, McGill denounces United States Senators because they filibuster to preserve states' rights.

## **Wednesday, March 2**

→ Dr. B. T. Shaw of the United States Agricultural Department, the man who instigated the cranberry crisis last November, now believes that the weed killer, in question at that time, is not dangerous.

→ An American-British-French unified force armed with nuclear weapons will be created within the framework of NATO, says General Lauris Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander of NATO in Europe.

→ H. J. Anslinger, United States Commissioner of Narcotics, says that there is probably more cocaine traffic in Castro's Cuba than in the rest of the world.

## **Thursday, March 3**

→ Representative Donald J. Jackson of California, a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, says that the material in the withdrawn Air Force Manual, concerning Communist infiltration of churches, "is absolutely correct."

→ In Kabul, Afghanistan Soviet Premier Khrushchev threatens Pakistan, which is currently in a dispute with Afghanistan over tribesmen living in Pakistan.

→ Pope John XXIII designates for the Sacred College of Cardinals two Italians, a Japanese, an African Negro, a Filipino, a Frenchman, and a Dutchman. Their elevation will make a total of eighty-five in the College, the largest number in history.

## **Friday, March 4**

→ *Tass* announces that Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Liberian President William V. S. Tubman have agreed to exchange visits.

→ A French freighter, *La Coubre*, carrying arms and munitions to Cuba from Belgium, explodes in Havana harbor, with at least fifty-four persons killed and more than two hundred wounded.

→ The French Government begins sending eastern European refugees to

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Corsica and other islands in an effort to protect Soviet Premier Khrushchev from possible violence on his coming visit to France.

### Saturday, March 5

→ President Sékou Touré of Guinea extends diplomatic recognition to Communist East Germany.

→ French President de Gaulle predicts that Algerian voters will eventually choose "an Algerian Algeria tied to France."

→ Fidel Castro and other Cuban Communists accuse the United States of causing last night's explosion of the French freighter, *La Coubre*, which was carrying arms and munitions to Cuba from Belgium.

### Sunday, March 6

→ Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson rejects the wisdom of balancing the federal budget year-by-year, and says that average balanced budgets over a period of years is sufficient.

→ The United States Senate has a respite in the midst of a civil rights filibuster which began last Monday noon.

→ President Eisenhower prolongs his stay in Puerto Rico where he arrived Thursday for rest and golf after his ten-day South American junket.

### Monday, March 7

→ The West German Government considers Guinea's diplomatic recognition of East Germany to be a "very unfriendly act."

→ New Hampshire's Governor Wesley Powell charges that Senator John F. Kennedy is "soft on Communism," a charge repudiated by Vice President Nixon, and repeated by Governor Powell.

→ In London a former Royal Air Force flying officer, Arthur M. Wraight, at a pre-trial hearing, is accused of giving Soviet Union officials information on American and British military operations.

### Tuesday, March 8

→ After four days of intensely bitter anti-American denunciations by Castro and other Cuban Communists, Secretary of State Herter says that the United States "finds itself increasingly obliged to question the good faith" of the Castro regime.

→ Belgium's Foreign Minister Pierre Eigny rejects French claims to the Belgian Congo after it becomes independent on June 30, 1960.

→ The de Gaulle government threatens to crush the Communist-led F.N.L. by force in Algeria because of the Communists' refusal to negotiate for a cease-fire in the five-year rebellion.

### Wednesday, March 9

→ President Eisenhower gives in to Soviet pressure and rules out all high-altitude flights from the West into Berlin for the time being.

→ One of Sukarno's own air force MIG-17 fighters strafes the Indonesian President's palace.

→ Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and United States Rubber Company

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announce that they have no present intention of suspending their Cuban operations.

### Thursday, March 10

→ The New York State Commission Against Discrimination *orders* Capital Airlines to employ Patricia Banks, a Negro, as a stewardess.

→ Castro's government moves to take over more than one hundred million dollars in industrial properties controlled by American interests, including Moa Bay Mining Company.

→ Senator Jacob Javits introduces a bill to create a federal travel agency which will "sell" America to foreign tourists. He proposes a budget of about ten million dollars for the agency next year.

### Friday, March 11

→ Pioneer V, an artificial planetoid weighing 94.8 pounds, was launched by a Thor-Able rocket from Cape Canaveral for a trip around the Sun between the planetary paths of Earth and Venus.

→ Castro's government seizes three American-owned sugar mills worth an estimated ten million dollars. The mills are owned by the Guantanamo Sugar Company of New York.

→ In Massachusetts, Bernard Goldfine is indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for evasion of \$791,745 in income taxes.

### Saturday, March 12

→ At Alamogordo, New Mexico, the Aerial Phenomena Research Organization notifies Air Force officials that pieces of a "form of metal unknown anywhere in the world" are actual

physical evidence that flying saucers are extra-terrestrial in origin.

→ *Continental*, an Italian news agency, reports that Czechoslovakia has offered to sell Cuba several hundred Soviet-designed MIG-17 jet fighters.

→ It is announced that ten thousand Frenchmen will guard Soviet Premier Khrushchev when he visits Paris next week.

### Sunday, March 13

→ Frederick H. Boland, Ireland's permanent delegate to the United Nations, describes the duty of the United Nations "to be the watch-dog of the moral conscience of mankind."

→ Reportedly ill with the grippe, Soviet Premier Khrushchev postpones his scheduled state visit to France for another week to ten days.

→ It is reported that violent fighting for political supremacy between members of the Conakat and Balubakat-Fedeka parties is taking place in the Belgian Congo, which is preparing for its independence on June 30, 1960.

### Monday, March 14

→ Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona charges that the Eisenhower administration's foreign policy is leading to a surrender to Communism.

→ Photographs of the moon, allegedly made by the Soviet rocket, Lunik III, are described as hoaxes by William J. Young of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Lloyd Mallan, space photography specialist.

→ Castro urges Cubans to work with their rifles beside them so as to be ready

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for defense against American enemies; and Jose Pardo Llada, a Cuban radio commentator, accuses the United States of blowing up its own battleship, *Maine*, in 1898.

### Tuesday, March 15

→ Republican congressional leaders announce that President Eisenhower plans to ask Congress for legislation which would approximately double the 154,000 immigrants allowed to enter the country annually; and that Eisenhower also wants discretionary powers to raise or lower sugar import quotas.

→ West German Chancellor Adenauer urges President Eisenhower to resist any and all concessions on Berlin at the proposed summit conference in May.

→ At the opening session of a tenation disarmament conference in Geneva, the United States proposes an international police force within the United Nations to preserve world peace after national arms and armies are reduced. Besides the United States, other participants are France, Italy, Canada, Britain, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

### Wednesday, March 16

→ West German Chancellor Adenauer suggests that a plebiscite in West Berlin on the *status quo*, held before the proposed summit meeting, would be the best answer to Khrushchev's demand that Allied occupation of West Berlin should end immediately.

→ American Ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, receives the Sylvanus Thayer Award at the United States Military Academy, as an

American citizen who exemplifies the West Point motto, "Duty, Honor, Country."

→ As he endorses the presidential candidacy of Vice President Nixon, President Eisenhower says, "There has never been, between Mr. Nixon and myself . . . a specific difference . . . on any important problem in seven years."

### Thursday, March 17

→ The legislature of the Southern Cameroons, a United Nations trusteeship, votes to request Great Britain to establish a military force to police the border with the new Cameroon Republic which is being terrorized by Communist insurgents.

→ In the tenth major air tragedy of 1960, a Northwest Airlines Electra explodes in midair near Tell City, Indiana, killing all sixty-three aboard.

→ Sentences ranging from five years to life are decreed for fourteen Chinese Catholics by Chinese Communists on charges of counter-revolutionary plotting. Bishop Ignatius Kung Pin-mei is sentenced to life imprisonment for treason.

### Friday, March 18

→ Chinese Communists sentence Roman Catholic Bishop, James Edward Walsh, to twenty years imprisonment on charges that the Maryknoll missionary was an American imperialist spy.

→ The State Department announces that American Ambassador Bonsal will return to his Cuban post since Castro's government assures the State Department that no conspiracy charges are held against Bonsal.

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→ In the face of contrary evidence, the National Council of Churches denies categorically that its organization has ever been infiltrated by a Communist Party member or sympathizer among its high-level officials.

### Saturday, March 19

→ It is reported that a letter sent from Khrushchev to Eisenhower on March 8 hints that the Soviets may be forced to give nuclear weapons to Red China, if the United States supplies such arms to its NATO allies.

→ The Communist-controlled governments of Bolivia and Cuba report the suppression of counter-revolutionary uprisings.

→ A Communist-sponsored demonstration against the revised Japanese-American security treaty attracts about twenty thousand participants in Tokyo.

### Sunday, March 20

→ Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston says that "the Vatican has no interest in our politics. In my contacts with two Popes, the only thing I was ever questioned about was spiritual conditions — the sanctity of priests and people."

→ After a two-month absence spent in Washington for consultative purposes, American Ambassador Bonsal returns to Cuba, and, at the same time, Major Ernesto Guevara, president of Cuba's National Bank, predicts economic warfare with the United States.

→ Secretary of State Herter says, "I don't think anyone could say affirmatively that Cuba is Communist at the present time."

### Monday, March 21

→ Frank Sinatra hires Communist Albert Maltz to write the script for the screen play of William Bradford Huie's book, *The Life of Private Slovik*.

→ Negro demonstrations against South Africa's apartheid policy (racial segregation) result in at least fifty Negro deaths as tens of thousands of Negroes terrorize two widely separated towns, Langa and Sharpeville.

→ Chiang Kai-shek is re-elected to a third six-year term of the Republic of China.

### Tuesday, March 22

→ It is announced that Kaiser Steel Corporation had a net loss of \$7,401,000 for its operations in 1959.

→ Secretary of State Herter concedes that the proposed summit meeting is a gamble and he is not optimistic about results, but he thinks there are "surface indications" that Russia wants a meaningful disarmament agreement.

→ It is reported that thirty-five French and Russian bodyguards have been ordered to throw themselves on top of Soviet Premier Khrushchev, if they hear gunshots during his tour of France which begins tomorrow.

### Wednesday, March 23

→ South Africa's Prime Minister of External Affairs, Eric H. Louw, expresses great concern at the United States Government's criticism of the South African Government's methods of suppressing Negro rioters.

→ Senator Hubert H. Humphrey is one of the few Americans who is en-

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thusiastic over a new and meaningless Soviet test ban formula.

→ James C. Hagerty, press secretary at the White House, says it is nonsense to say that Eisenhower has neither advance plans nor purpose for the proposed summit conference, but Hagerty does not elaborate.

### Thursday, March 24

→ Former Postmaster General James A. Farley says that his recent tour of the Far East convinced him "that a vast new Pacific community of free nations is rising in strength."

→ Missouri's Senator Stuart Symington joins colleagues Kennedy of Massachusetts and Humphrey of Minnesota as an active candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

→ Valerian A. Zorin, chief Soviet delegate to the ten-nation East-West disarmament conference at Geneva, says that the Soviet Union would not permit aerial inspection of all its territory until the world was completely disarmed.

### Friday, March 25

→ The House Appropriations Committee reports that Communist opposition and Supreme Court delays have hampered the work of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

→ In Tokyo, American Ralph J. Bunche, Under Secretary of the United Nations, tells an assembly of the International Press Institute that racial discrimination is the most important social problem of the United States.

→ On the third day of his state visit to France, Soviet Premier Khrushchev

is the subject of extremely enthusiastic acclaim by French Communists.

→ Representative Elmer J. Holland of Pennsylvania describes President Eisenhower as "our No. 1 recipient of 'socialized medicine.' "

### Saturday, March 26

→ British Prime Minister Macmillan arrives in the United States for a Camp David session in which he and President Eisenhower are expected to arrive at a "joint decision" as to their next proposal in nuclear test negotiations with the Soviet Union.

→ President Giovanni Gronchi administers the oath of office to Italy's new Premier, Fernando Tambroni, who heads the twenty-first government since Mussolini's reign ended in 1943.

→ French Premier Michel Debré and President Philibert Tsiranana of the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) conclude negotiations by which Malagasy's independence is recognized, but as a continuing member of the French community.

### Sunday, March 27

→ Paul M. Butler, Democratic national chairman, urges "loyal" Southern Democrats to form separate national convention delegations to oppose delegations which threaten to bolt the party in some of the Southern States.

→ Amid the flutter of red flags, Soviet Premier Khrushchev makes a triumphal tour of Communist-infested southern France.

→ Tennessee's Governor Buford Ellington orders an investigation, as he

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suspects that a Nashville sit-in demonstration was conducted by Negro "students" for the sole benefit of CBS television audiences.

### Monday, March 28

→ Truman administration officials T. Lamar Caudle and Matthew J. Connelly, who were sentenced in 1956 in a tax-filing case, are denied a review of their convictions by the United States Supreme Court.

→ Air Force representatives of Thailand, South Korea, the Republic of China, the Philippines and the United States begin a twelve-day joint training exercise at the United States Air Force's Clark Air Base near Manila.

→ Pope John XXIII creates three cardinals *in petto* (in the Pope's breast) which raises the membership in the Sacred College of Cardinals to eighty-eight, the highest in history. It is believed that the secretly created cardinals are in Communist countries.

### Tuesday, March 29

→ In a four-hour harangue on television, Premier Castro complains that Cuban anti-Communists "weaken faith" in his revolutionary regime.

→ *Pravda* affirms that the Communist world supports Castro's Cuba and the Negroes of South Africa.

→ The Camp David pre-summit and disarmament sessions of Eisenhower and Macmillan are augmented by the arrival of Vice President Nixon; Secretary of State Herter; Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky, the President's science adviser; Atomic Energy Commissioner McCone; Philip J. Farley, Herter's

special assistant for disarmament and atomic energy; Defense Secretary Douglas; and Sir William Penney, nuclear adviser to Macmillan.

→ In an hour-long telecast, the American Broadcasting Company's John Secondari presents a distorted and unfriendly portrait of South Korea.

### Wednesday, March 30

→ Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire advises the insurance industry and the medical profession to move fast, if they wish to prevent the Federal government from controlling all medical care.

→ President Eisenhower says that the Soviets are *sincere* in their disarmament and nuclear weapon-testing moratorium proposals.

→ According to a White House announcement, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Flemming's November cranberry crisis will cost the taxpayers ten million dollars in a relief program for the cranberry industry.

### Thursday, March 31

→ At the unveiling of a statue of American General James A. Van Fleet at the Korean Military Academy, President Syngman Rhee pays tribute to General Van Fleet for his great contributions to the development of the Korean Army.

→ In Geneva at a three-nation conference on nuclear testing, American Delegate James Wadsworth and British Delegate Sir Michael Wright offer Soviet Delegate Semyon Tsarapkin a formal treaty for banning large-scale nuclear tests in return for a short-term moratorium on small explosions. This

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proposal is a result of the Eisenhower-Macmillan session at Camp David earlier this week.

→ The United States Census Bureau begins its most comprehensive and most inquisitive decennial census-taking.

### APRIL, 1960

#### Friday, April 1

→ It is reported that former American Ambassador to the Soviet Union Charles E. Bohlen will go to Moscow after the proposed summit meeting in May "to observe changes there since he left Moscow in 1957." Bohlen is presently adviser on Soviet affairs to Secretary of State Herter.

→ Communist Poland agrees to sell Communist Cuba airplanes, helicopters and heavy machinery in exchange for sugar, coffee, tobacco and fruit.

→ The United States launches Tiros I, a 270-pound satellite, into orbit around the earth to photograph world weather conditions from space. Early results indicate a successful mission.

#### Saturday, April 2

→ Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, says that if he was a college student he would be on a picket line to support Negro sit-in demonstrations.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev and French President de Gaulle sign agreements for cooperation in the peaceful use of atomic energy and in the scientific field.

→ Senator Stuart Symington urges recognition of Red China because it is dangerous to turn "our back on these people who want to stick a knife in our back."

#### Sunday, April 3

→ David Susskind's television program, "Open End," is used by five Russian diplomats as an anti-American propaganda forum.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev arrives in Moscow after his state visit to France and says that he is "greatly satisfied" with the results of his trip.

→ General Douglas MacArthur is discharged from Lenox Hill Hospital in New York, where he underwent successful surgery on March 19.

#### Monday, April 4

→ The Burmese parliament elects U Nu as premier.

→ In an agreement with France, the Mali Federation (Senegal and the Sudanese Republic) gains its independence within the French community, effective immediately upon ratification.

→ The *London Daily Mail* reports that Mrs. Joan Chase Hinton, American scientist, and Bruno Pontecorvo, British-Italian atomic scientist, are building an atomic bomb for the Red Chinese Government.

→ In Havana, Cuba a Communist convention is attended by four thousand delegates from Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Red China, Romania, the Soviet Union, Spain, the United States, Venezuela, and East Germany.

## A Review Of The News

### Tuesday, April 5

→ It is announced in Moscow that President Eisenhower will probably visit the cities of Leningrad, Kiev, Irkutsk, and Khabarovsk after he leaves Moscow on his June visit to the Soviet Union.

→ Senator John Marshall Butler of Maryland urges a "much firmer stand" against Cuba by the United States.

### Wednesday, April 6

→ Castro begins seizure of almost all of United Fruit Company's 272,000 acres of Cuban land, valued by the company at thirty-two million dollars, but only at six million dollars by Cuba's Agrarian Reform Institute.

→ The West German Government delivers a strong protest against Khrushchev's "campaign of slander" against West Germany, during the Soviet Premier's recent state visit to France.

→ Columbian President Lleras, on a state visit to the United States, asks the American Congress to give economic aid to Latin America *before* economic backwardness causes a switch to dictatorships or Communism.

### Thursday, April 7

→ Senator John F. Kennedy, besides saying that seventeen million Americans go to bed hungry every night, expresses similar gloom in regard to housing, earnings, and unemployment.

→ The United States Information Agency plans to spend \$207,956 on its Cuban activities in the year starting July 1. The Agency's Cuban program includes cultural centers, exchange of persons, libraries, mobile film units, television programs and printed matter.

→ French President de Gaulle, on a state visit, tells the British Parliament that France is willing to stop testing nuclear weapons if all other nations agree on nuclear disarmament.

### Friday, April 8

→ Secretary of State Herter indicates that he is not sure whether or not there has been a split between Red China and the Soviet Union.

→ Along sectional lines the United States Senate passes a Civil Rights bill, voted against by eighteen Southern Senators. Receiving credit for its passage are Senators Dirksen and Lyndon B. Johnson, and Attorney General Rogers.

→ Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. begins campaigning on behalf of Senator John F. Kennedy.

### Saturday, April 9

→ Carlos P. Garcia, President of the Philippines, wants American atomic weapons stored in his country in the event of an attack, which he implies could come from Red China.

→ South Africa's Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd is shot and wounded by a white man. Verwoerd is a staunch advocate of apartheid which has caused widespread violence by Negroes during the past three weeks.

→ Frank Sinatra fires Communist Albert Maltz whose hiring by Sinatra had brought protests from patriotic and religious groups and individuals. They were not convinced, as Sinatra claims he was, that Maltz had "an affirmative, pro-American approach" to a story which deals with the only American executed as a deserter in World War II.



## A Review Of The News

### Sunday, April 10

→ *Izvestia* reports that about three hundred Soviet "tourists" will sail this week from Vladivostok, aboard the diesel ship *Mihail Kalinin*, with scheduled stops at Tokyo, Shanghai, Indonesia, Istanbul, and Athens.

→ *Prace*, a labor union paper in Communist Czechoslovakia, alleges that Czech police have broken up groups of young Roman Catholics, who were trained by Vatican agents in secret theological colleges to conspire against the state.

→ Air Force leaders from the Philippines, Thailand, South Korea, South Viet Nam, the Republic of China and the United States met in conference at Taipei, Taiwan.

### Monday, April 11

→ The United States State Department accuses Red China of interfering in Japan's internal affairs because Red China's Premier Chou En-lai criticizes the recently signed, but not yet ratified, American-Japanese security treaty.

→ Only seventeen days old, Italian Premier Fernando Tambroni's government falls.

→ Pakistan agrees to purchase \$98,100,000 of American products including wheat, cotton, and tobacco.

### Tuesday, April 12

→ Brigadier General Austin W. Betts, director of the Advanced Research Projects Agency, claims that the American Atlas ICBM "is significantly more accurate than its Soviet competitor."

→ The White House announces that, during his June travels, Eisenhower will visit South Korea for one day to confer with President Syngman Rhee, whose associates in government claimed last night that there is a plot to overthrow the Rhee regime.

→ French Premier Michel Debré says that Algeria will be partitioned, if the majority of Algerians vote for independence. Algerians, who wish to remain free French citizens, could then do so without leaving Algeria.

### Wednesday, April 13

→ A *New York Times* despatch says that the United States plans to equip its Western European allies with specially designed Polaris missiles, which will be launched from mobile platforms on land or rivers.

→ Representative John E. Moss wonders why all of seventy-six Federal departments, boards, commissions, committees and agencies are currently empowered to stamp their documents secret, top secret, or confidential, for defense reasons.

→ Britain decides to abandon most of its \$1,400,000,000 program of nuclear rocket systems because of the expense, but intends to buy American missiles in the future.

### Thursday, April 14

→ The United States Navy launches a Polaris missile from an ocean depth of two hundred feet near San Clemente Island, California.

→ Madame Chiang Kai-shek unveils a life-size bust of the late American Lieutenant General Claire L. Chen-

## A Review Of The News

nault in Taipei, a most unusual honor for a foreigner in China.

→ The *Ghana News Agency* reports that last week Ghana's Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and Kenya's nationalist leader Tom Mboya discussed an all-African Trade Union Federation.

### Friday, April 15

→ It is announced that South Africa's Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd has recovered sufficiently, from the wounds inflicted by a would-be assassin last Saturday, to take up some of his duties again.

→ The Communist-led F.L.N. forces in Algeria receive offers of help from four thousand Syrian "volunteers."

→ Red China's Premier Chou En-lai visits Burma to urge more unity amongst the Asian nations.

### Saturday, April 16

→ *Radio Moscow* says that the Easter holiday strengthens "the wildest and most stupid prejudices" in the human mind.

→ Red China's Premier Chou En-lai claims that his government will build atomic submarines within five years.

→ Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana says that the United States cannot cut off purchases of sugar from Cuba because "the truth of the matter is that we need the Cuban crop."

### Sunday, April 17

→ Senator John F. Kennedy scores the Air Force Manual which charged that the National Council of Churches was infiltrated by Communists.

→ Elijah William "Bill" Cunningham, journalist, radio commentator and patriot, dies at the age of sixty-four.

→ It is reported that Cuba's Communist Prime Minister Castro wants his own summit meeting with President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Herter.

### Monday, April 18

→ French President de Gaulle arrives in Canada, en route to the United States, where he and President Eisenhower will hold discussions concerning the proposed summit conference of next month.

→ A crowd of about seventy-five thousand demonstrators in Trafalgar Square in London climax a four-day march to protest against nuclear weapons.

→ Former President Truman thinks the sit-down demonstrations at lunch counters in the South are Communist-engineered just as the sit-down strikes were in the automobile factories in 1937.

### Tuesday, April 19

→ A Reuters despatch says that five thousand refugees fled to West Berlin from East Berlin during the Easter holidays.

→ Republic of Korea officials declare martial law in Seoul as mob demonstrations against the Syngman Rhee government threaten to get completely out of hand, especially as Communist radio broadcasts from North Korea pledge full Communist support to the rioters, and also since American Secretary of State Herter is vehement in his denunciation of the Rhee regime.

→ Senator Clifford P. Case defeats Robert Morris for the Republican nom-

## A Review Of The News

ination in New Jersey's primary election.

### Wednesday, April 20

→ Red China's Premier Chou En-lai and India's Prime Minister Nehru begin a scheduled six-day series of talks, purportedly in an effort to settle a border dispute between their two countries.

→ In Korea, President Syngman Rhee's cabinet resigns, due in great part to external pressures from the United States, Red China, and Communist North Korea.

→ Secretary of State Herter tells the Council of the Organization of American States that Communists never would be allowed to take over any Latin American nation by force, threat or subversion.

### Thursday, April 21

→ Colonel Laurence E. Bunker, former aide to General Douglas MacArthur, says that Secretary of State Herter should be asked to resign for reprimanding the Korean Government of Syngman Rhee.

→ South Korea's National Assembly meets in extraordinary session to deal with the crisis, which has shattered the Rhee regime, but the session is marked by violence amongst the members.

→ Secretary of State Herter says that the prime objective of Western nations at the proposed summit meeting will be to discover if the Soviets sincerely wish to ease tensions.

### Friday, April 22

→ French President de Gaulle arrives

in the United States for his first state visit.

→ The American Lutheran Church (TALC) is created as a result of the merger of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the American Lutheran Church, and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church.

→ A hung jury ends the income tax evasion trial of New York's Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

### Saturday, April 23

→ The Japanese Government sends a stern rebuke to the Soviet Government which has sent a third note protesting against the recently negotiated American-Japanese security treaty.

→ Harold Stassen is repeating his stop-Nixon program of 1956, according to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

→ Fidel Castro accuses the United States of sponsoring a fifth column in Cuba.

### Sunday, April 24

→ South Korean President Syngman Rhee announces that he will retire from party politics but continue on in the presidency.

→ President Eisenhower and French President de Gaulle emerge from Camp David in agreement as to "how we should proceed at the summit meeting."

→ Korea's Vice President-elect Lee Ki-Poong continues to withhold his once stated offer to retire from public life. His election has been used as an excuse for the demonstrations against the Rhee Government.

## A Review Of The News

### Monday, April 25

→ French President de Gaulle, in an address to the American Congress, insists that destruction of nuclear weapons by common consent under international supervision is the only hope for the future of man.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev threatens that, if he signs a separate peace treaty with East Germany, the Western powers will lose all rights to fly into Berlin.

→ India's Prime Minister Nehru and Red China's Premier Chou En-lai end six days of talks on "border disputes" and issue a joint communiqué stating that they decided nothing.

### Tuesday, April 26

→ Syngman Rhee offers to resign the Korean presidency but warns his people to beware of the Communists in North Korea. Dr. Rhee's resignation is accepted by the Korean Parliament, and Dr. Huh Chung becomes acting president.

→ Communist demonstration break out all over Japan in protest against the recently negotiated American-Japanese security treaty.

→ In New York City French President de Gaulle defends his self determination policy for Algeria.

### Wednesday, April 27

→ President Eisenhower denies that the United States incited the demonstrations against Syngman Rhee's government in South Korea.

→ The United Nations trusteeship of the territory of Togoland ends as the Republic of Togo gains its independ-

ence under French financial and military protection.

→ In a suicide pact, Speaker of the Korean House and Vice President-elect Lee Ki-Poong, his wife, and two sons die in Seoul within the presidential compound.

### Thursday, April 28

→ The Turkish Government proclaims martial law as "students" riot against the government of Premier Adnan Menderes.

→ Secretary of State Herter is in Tehran, Iran for a meeting of CENTO, a defensive alliance of Britain, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, which is supported by the United States.

→ Dr. Werner von Braun, space scientist, states his belief that life exists in the universe outside the earth.

### Friday, April 29

→ Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, wants a Consumer Department of cabinet-rank in the Federal government to represent consumer interests in critical labor-management disputes.

→ Turkish troops rout rioters in Istanbul and Ankara at the direction of Premier Adnan Menderes.

### Saturday, April 30

→ The Second Afro-Asia Economic Conference is held in Cairo, with delegates from forty-five nations in attendance, including representatives from eight Soviet republics.

→ West Berlin officials report that 15,502 East Germans sought refuge in West Berlin this month.

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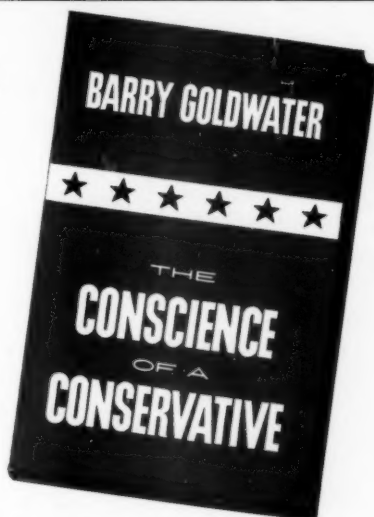
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